

WORKERS' TRUTH

Dedicated to the
Construction of the
International Party of
Revolutionary Workers
(Fourth International)

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War in the Middle East



UPI Telephoto

Watergate

Chile

Inflation UAW CTA

Argentina Iraq Agnew

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9/23/74

Editorial

For Democracy in the Workers' Movement!

On the second day of the sit-down strike at the Chrysler Mack Avenue Stamping Plant in Detroit this summer, Douglas Fraser, United Auto Workers (UAW) Vice-President in charge of the Chrysler division, organized a 1,000-man goon squad composed of UAW officials from the Detroit area to join hands with Chrysler and the Detroit police in forcing UAW members to return to work. This open-strikebreaking display of disgusting anti-unionism and gross violation of the principles of democracy within the working class movement was followed by goon squad attacks on socialist groups attempting to leaflet and distribute literature outside of auto plants.

According to the 31 August 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard*:

Members of the *Spark* group...which sponsors factory bulletins in some plants, were told not to sell their paper in front of the Dodge Main plant and were physically assaulted. The Revolutionary Socialist League... was also chased away from Dodge Main. And "union" goons, armed with clubs, were seen looking for "radicals" in front of a Dodge truck plant.

We have just received a press release from the Cleveland branch of the Spartacist League announcing the fact that nine "members and friends of the Spartacist League were assaulted and beaten by 15 well-organized thugs on Chevrolet Rd. outside the Chevrolet Transmission plant in Parma, Ohio" on Sept. 27. Carl Watson, an SL spokesman stated:

There is no doubt in our minds that this attack was organized by officials of UAW Local 1005 because they are nervous about the rotten contract

they know they will soon have to put over on the ranks.

The SL statement also pointed out that other socialist and left-wing groups had been assaulted outside the Chevrolet plant:

Other groups that have been attacked and driven away from the same plant recently include the Revolutionary Union, International Socialists, and supporters of *Modern Times*, a local radical paper.

The statement also stated that attacks have occurred in New Jersey as well as Detroit and Ohio.

The reason for the bureaucracy's all out attack against socialists and radicals of every stripe is not simply a question of the current contract. The bureaucrats know that the American working class is getting more and more fed up with conditions in this society and that they are becoming more and more open to socialist literature. Faithfully carrying out their role as the labor lieutenants of capital, the UAW tops are doing everything in their power to stop auto workers from reading socialist literature.

The Revolutionary Workers Group understands that the only way that the working class will develop a revolutionary class consciousness is if it is able to read and compare the programs of various working class socialist tendencies. Therefore, we support and defend any working class tendencies in their struggle to distribute their literature. And we will join in any united defense action to assure that right.

Only if the workers' movement is a thoroughly democratic movement will it be possible to transform it into a revolutionary workers' movement, a movement capable of overthrowing capitalism!

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War Breaks in Middle East

Oct. 7--Full-scale war broke out yesterday in the Middle East. Fighting is going on between Israel, Egypt and Syria on two fronts: the area around the Golan Heights where Israel and Syria are doing battle and the western section of the Sinai Peninsula where Egyptian commandos have been dropped behind Israeli lines. The current war is the fourth major war (border incidents and air dog-fights occur almost constantly) in the last 25 years. The first occurred when the Israeli state was formed. The Haganah, the Israeli military force, had been in the process of driving the Palestinians out of Palestine. This military action became expanded when the Arab Legion, an armed force organized in the Arab countries and officered by members of the British officer corps, invaded the new state. This war ended in the victory of the Israelis and the establishment of Israel as a factor to deal with in the Middle East.

The second war broke out in 1956 when Egypt seized the Suez Canal. The French and British imperialists wanted to use the canal as a cheap route for transporting goods and raw materials. Along with Israel's assistance they launched an attack to take the canal away from the Egyptian bourgeoisie which wanted to use the canal as a means of extracting revenue from

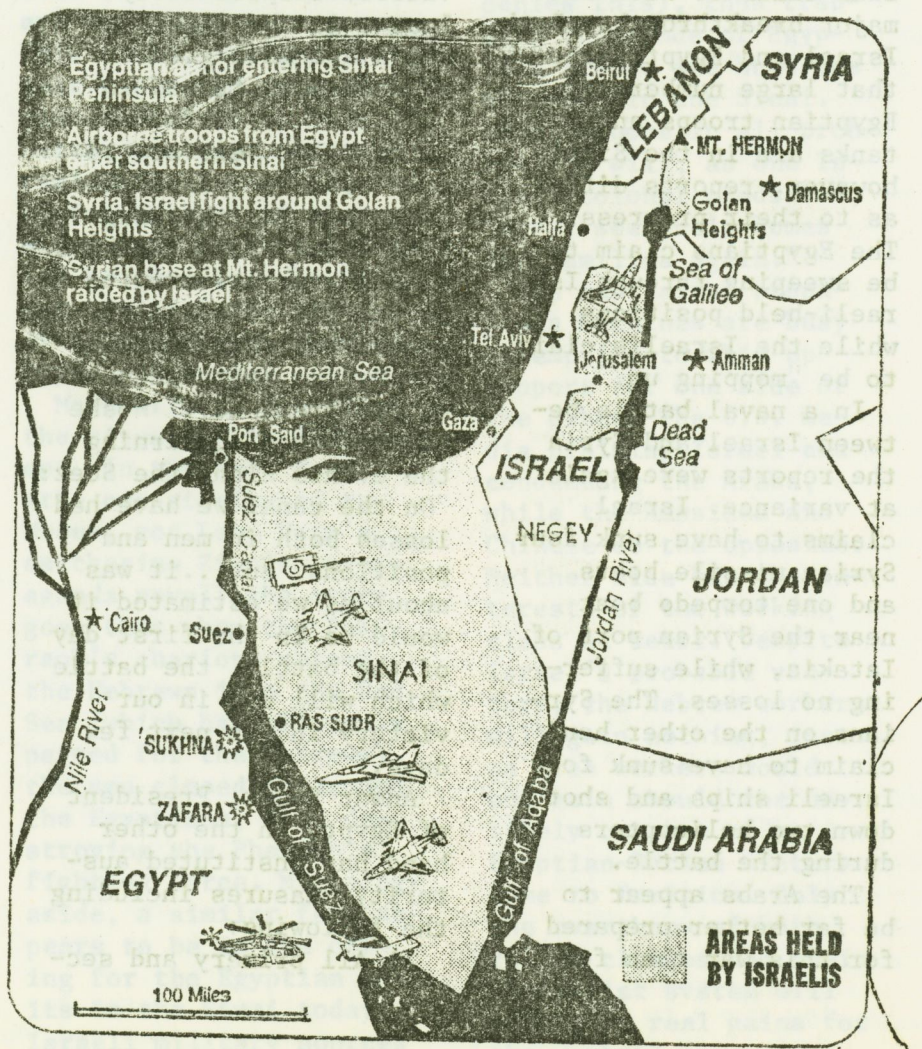
the various countries who wanted to send their ships through the canal.

The third war was the famous "Six-Day War" of June 1967. Here Israel provoked the Egyptian and Syrian governments into launching ill-prepared attacks on Israel. The Israelis then retaliated (in the name of "self-defense") with a vicious blitz crushing the combined Arab armies and occupying the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights and the West Bank, areas totaling about twice the land area of Israel proper.

The current war follows a period of escalating border incidents and

"preventive" excursions by Israel and escalated rhetoric and troop build-ups by Egypt and Syria. It is clear that Egypt and Syria were preparing for war. During recent weeks both Egypt and Syria had called up reservists and massed troops, tanks and artillery on their borders with the Israeli-occupied territories. Only last week Russia had withdrawn its advisers and technicians from Syria, apparently because it did not want to run the risk of involving itself militarily in the inevitably coming conflict.

Israel, however, was not caught unprepared. It



Tribune Map by William O'Brien

responded quickly to Arab excursions across the Suez even though the attack came on Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement and the holiest day in Israel. It was quite clear that Israel's troops were not all in synagogues reading from prayer books. The regular Israeli Defense Forces and the Israeli reserves have been almost completely mobilized at this time.

Each side is giving differing reports as to the development of the hostilities. Israel claims to have repulsed Syrian attacks along the 120-mile long Golan Heights, while the Syrians claim to have made major breakthroughs. Both Israel and Egypt agree that large numbers of Egyptian troops and tanks are in the Sinai, however, reports differ as to their progress. The Egyptians claim to be sweeping through Israeli-held positions while the Israelis claim to be "mopping up."

In a naval battle between Israel and Syria the reports were again at variance. Israel claims to have sunk four Syrian missile boats and one torpedo boat near the Syrian port of Iatakia, while suffering no losses. The Syrians on the other hand claim to have sunk four Israeli ships and shot down two helicopters during the battle.

The Arabs appear to be far better prepared for this war than for

the 1967 one. Egyptian forces along the Suez Canal amounted to 750,000 men, 3,000 tanks and 1,000 artillery pieces. The Syrians meanwhile had 2,000 tanks participating in the fighting on the Golan Heights. Besides the Syrians and Egyptians, Jordan, the Sudan and even Morocco on the northwest coast of Africa have troops ready to enter the conflict. Also, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya and Algeria have pledged support. Whether that support will take a physical nature or be restricted to morale boosting and cheerleading is yet to be seen.

The Israeli leadership is extremely confident of victory despite early losses in the fighting which are much greater than those suffered in 1967. Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir stated that Israeli troops were, "battling and throwing back the attack...We have no doubt about our victory...but to our mind, renewal of the Egyptian and Syrian aggression is an act of lunacy." Moshe Dayan stated concerning the events along the Suez: "On the canal we have had losses both in men and positions. But...it was about as we estimated it would be in the first day of the battle, the battle which will end in our victory in the next few days."

Anwar Sadat, President of Egypt, on the other hand has instituted austerity measures including the following:

1) All primary and sec-

ondary schools, dealing with pupils 6 to 15, closed indefinitely.

2) Suspension of all sports events.

3) Early closing of all movies, theaters, and other public entertainment.

4) Reduction of "meat days"--days on which meat can be bought and sold--from four days a week to two.

5) Rationing of sugar and tea.

Both sides naturally are claiming that the other side is the aggressor. The Israeli government claims that the Arab states attempted to take advantage of Yom Kippur by launching the attack, while Egypt claims that the crossing of the Suez Canal was in response to an Israeli air attack on an Egyptian military base. It makes no difference who is the "aggressor" in this situation, for *both* the ruling class in Israel and the ruling classes in the Arab countries are aggressors, not so much against each other, as against the working masses in their countries. Neither side in this war deserves the support of one single worker. The Hebrew and Arab workers who are being whipped into a nationalist fervor are being used simply as cannon fodder to extend the interests of their capitalist rulers and ensure their own exploitation.

No matter who is the victor in this war (and in all likelihood it will be Israel) the working classes of all the bel-

ligerent countries will be the *real* losers. Revolutionary workers in Israel, Egypt and Syria must take a position of intransigent struggle against their capitalist rulers. There can be no bowing to the reactionary nationalism and patriotism that the capitalists attempt to foist upon their workers. The class struggle must go on. There can be no holding back. The workers in uniform on the other side are not the enemy. Instead it is the capitalist profiteers

on both sides, the only ones who stand to gain from the war. Even now as the Middle East erupts in bloody national capitalist warfare, the revolutionary party of the working class must be built, based on the firm foundations of revolutionary Marxism, Bolshevik-Leninism. The struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a workers' republic and socialism is the only struggle which the working class can support in the Middle East. The

class war of the workers against the capitalists is the only war that the working class can support.

NO SUPPORT TO THE CAPITALIST BUTCHERS ON EITHER SIDE!

CLASS WAR NOT NATIONAL WAR!

BUILD REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTIES THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST!

FOR A SOCIALIST ISRAEL!

FOR A SOCIALIST EGYPT!

FOR A SOCIALIST SYRIA!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

FORWARD TO THE WORLDWIDE WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

Tide Turns Toward Israel

Oct. 8. While reports from the two sides in the latest Middle East war continue to conflict, the battle seems to be going in Israel's favor. Egypt claims to have pushed deep into the Sinai, while they and their ally Syria claim to have together shot down one-fourth of the 488-plane Israeli air force. Israel on the other hand claims to have repulsed the attacks on both fronts and claims successful counterattacks as the war enters its third day. Israel's claims tend to be corroborated by the slowing down of Arab communiques and the lack of confidence expressed in recent statements. Some Arab politicians and army officers have in fact expressed criticism of the timing of the war, and the possibilities for an Arab victory.

Israel claims to have sent Syrian infantry into flight toward Damascus. This appears to

be corroborated by the fact that women and children who were evacuated from the Golan Heights are beginning to return. This could, however, be just a ploy to make Israel appear to be in a better position than it really is. Israel also claims control of the skies over both the Golan Heights and the Sinai, despite the losses of aircraft shot down by Egypt and Syria.

Meanwhile in the Sinai the situation is different. In the book Exodus (the one attributed to Moses, not Leon Uris's saccharine Zionist propaganda novel) the story goes that when the Pharaoh's chariots chased the Hebrews into the Red Sea (which had allegedly parted for the Hebrews), the sea closed in around the Egyptians, thus destroying the Pharaoh's fighting force. Mythology aside, a similar fate appears to be in the offing for the Egyptian units in the Sinai today. Israeli military sources

claim to have destroyed all eleven of Egypt's pontoon bridges across the Suez Canal (Egypt denies this), thus trapping thousands of Egyptian troops and hundreds of tanks in the Sinai. These troops in all probability will, as one Israeli colonel predicted, "never see their homes and families again."

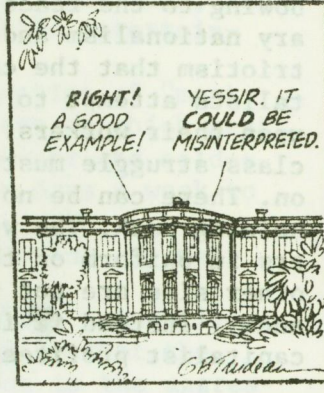
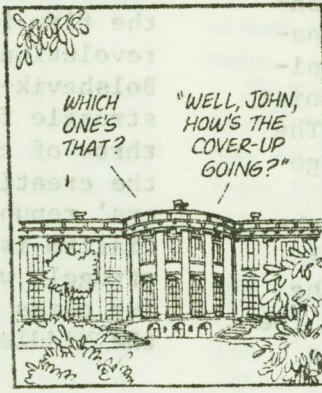
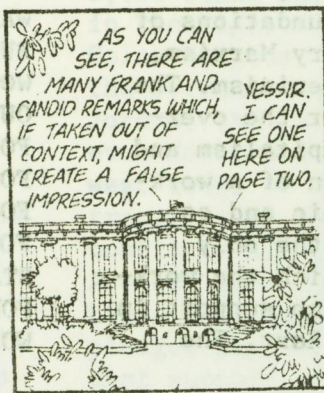
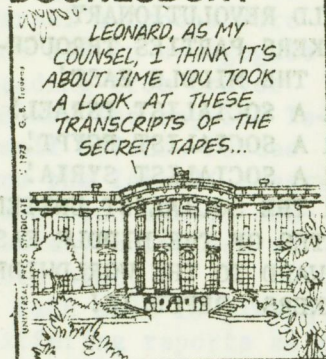
The capitalist propaganda machines are busy attempting to whip up support for one side or the other. The U.S. media praising Israel and condemning the Arabs, while the Russians and Chinese do the opposite. Neither side has the interests of the working class at heart. Despite Israel's probable victory, the Hebrew workers will gain nothing, just as Arab workers would not gain should the unlikely outcome of an Egyptian-Syrian victory come to fruition. Only the overthrow of both ruling classes and their capitalist system will result in real gains for the workers.

Watergate and Fascism

by Ron Albertson

Part Five

DOONESBURY



There have been a few new developments in the Watergate scandal since the beginning of this article was written (June). The most important of these developments is the discovery that Nixon had extended his bugging operations into his own office. The main thrust of the "anti-Nixon" politicians now is to obtain access to the tape recordings which are assumed to contain incriminating evidence, backroom deals, planning of burglaries and coverups and whatever else the sordid side of bourgeois politics involves. Nixon, who has argued that it is time now to forget about Watergate and let the courts settle the scandal, has backed off when asked to hold to this argument. Nixon has refused to hand over the tapes to the courts in order for them to decide whether they contain vital national security secrets which would allow Nixon to maintain possession of the tapes by means of executive privilege. Nixon now has stated that he will

wait for the Supreme Court to make a "definitive decision" in the case before he will give up the tapes. In a recent press conference, though, when reporters pressed Nixon to elaborate on what he meant by a "definitive decision," he declined to answer, therefore implying that even if the Supreme Court does order him to hand over the tapes he may not choose to do so.

Nixon is not the only member of the present administration who is suffering from scandal. Spiro Agnew has joined Nixon in having his political history uncovered. An investigation in Agnew's home state of Maryland has brought out testimony that Agnew received bribes and kickbacks before and during the time he was Governor of Maryland and possibly during his term in the Vice-Presidency. Agnew has continuously denied these charges and also rumors that he is prepared to resign.

The timing of the Agnew investigation and the subsequent disclosures have led some to speculate that Nixon himself

has inspired and planned it as part of his plan to divert attention from himself.

In retrospect, the scandals which have come to light, with the exception of the "ITT/CIA" conspiracy have had little or no effect on the relations between the bourgeois state and the workers' organizations. Middle class radical parties such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and reformist working class tendencies like the Workers League have become deeply concerned though by the scandals. Any disruption of the electoral process would gravely interfere with their strategy of reforming capitalist society. The SWP has decided also (like Nixon) that Watergate should be fought out in the courts and has set about suing Nixon, Mitchell, et.al.

As far as Watergate being the introduction of fascism in the United States, as the Workers League hysterically proclaims, we can easily see that this has no basis in reality. Looking at the historical cases

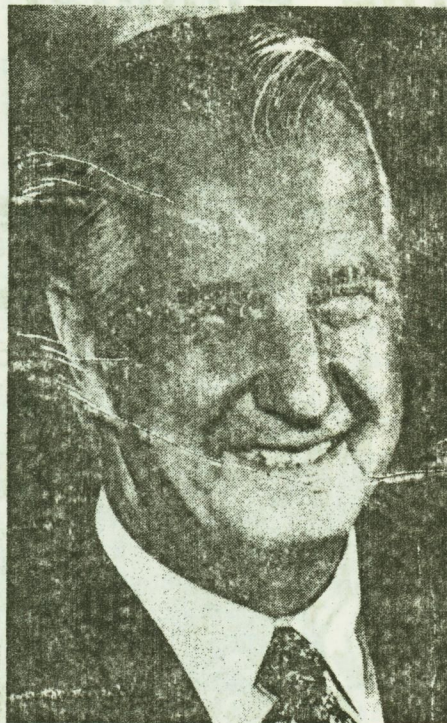
of fascism (Germany, Italy) we can draw the general features of its regime: 1) in advanced capitalist countries the petty bourgeoisie along with the lumpenproletariat are mobilized by the strongest sector of finance capital into quasi-legal armed bands; 2) these armed bands are used to smash the organizations of the proletariat; 3) the seizure of direct control of the state (without the bulky and cumbersome paraphernalia of parliament, separation of powers, checks and balances, etc.) is executed by the strongest sector of finance capital. It should also be added to these basic features of fascism that because the control of the state is exercised through naked force rather than carrot and stick persuasion, finance capital usually converts the economy into a war economy, i.e. the preparation for imperialist war. This production of military goods in the long run is more profitable and useful to finance capital than production of consumer goods because the possibility for a drive toward world domination comes into reach. Along with this it should be noted that the introduction of fascism only becomes necessary when the working class has made parliamentary government ineffective either through parliamentary interference or revolutionary upsurge, generally the latter.

It should be obvious to all and sundry that Watergate shares none of these features.

Concluded

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Agnew in the Stew



WIDE WORLD

Ever since the Watergate scandal broke out Vice-President Spiro Agnew has kept himself aloof and relished the role of "Mr. Clean" of the Nixon machine. However, the knight in shining armor has fallen into his own little investigation and Sir Lancelot has come up with mud on his face and kickback bribes from construction companies in his bank account (and his wallet, his mattress, his socks, his shoeboxes, his wife's cookie jar, etc.).

Yes, the loudmouthed lackey of American imperialism is in hot water just as deep as his running mate, but with less chances of survival. Rumor has it that Nixon is behind the whole Agnew scandal and there has been a demonstrative coolness between the two members of the admini-

stration. However, if this really is part of Nixon's game plan, it is not necessarily a good move.

But, Nixon, we must remember, is in a real bind with the Agnew revelations. One of the main obstacles to starting impeachment proceedings against Nixon in the eyes of the liberal Democrats was the fact that if Nixon were ousted Agnew would assume the Presidency (this they thought would be a catastrophe since they felt Agnew to be "worse" than Nixon, which is humbug). Thus, if Agnew resigns the way is open for the liberals to really go after Nixon.

If, on the other hand, Agnew does not resign and is indicted anyway, it opens the door for an indictment of Nixon on Watergate charges, since the President has no more "executive privileges" vis-a-vis immunity from prosecution than the Vice President.

While Agnew's predicament may divert some attention away from Nixon, it certainly does not leave him much room to run.

Inflation and Coalition

by David Ross

Fight Inflation

Smash the Popular Front

Prices continue to spiral into outer space while the wages of workers crawl along at a snail's pace. Two years of Nixon's New Economic Policy have resulted in record-breaking profits for the capitalists and economic hardship for the working class. Beef is rapidly being replaced as a protein staple by other foods (chicken, fish, eggs) because its prices (even for the "cheaper" cuts) are out of reach for most workers. As prices continue to soar under Phase IV even these substitutes will have to be replaced as they become more and more expensive.

In a situation like this it is obvious why rumblings of discontent begin to develop within the working class. However, without a mass revolutionary party to direct this discontent into the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism by the working class, the workers' discontent will be co-opted by the capitalists and their agents in the labor movement (principally the trade union bureaucracy). And sensing the growing discontent within the working class, the bourgeoisie has done just that: unleashed their agents to sweep militant workers into a futile pressure struggle which will serve as nothing more



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Part of Sept. 8 demonstration in Chicago protesting inflation. Demonstration was called by Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice (CJEJ). CJEJ wants to divert workers' struggle against inflation into capitalist pressure politics.

than support for liberal Democrats in the coming Congressional elections.

This co-optation attempt got its start Sept. 8 with a demonstration against higher prices held in Chicago and called by the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice (CJEJ). The CJEJ contains all the ingredients of a classical popular front (bloc between working class organizations and a section of the bourgeoisie). "Representing" the working class in this class collaborationist bloc are Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State,

County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers (UAW), who proved that the "left" trade union bureaucrats can sell out the working class as a whole with just as much immunity as they sell out the workers in their own unions (see *The Chrysler Strike? What Strike?* elsewhere in this issue), and several other lesser light bureaucrats from other unions.

Joining the trade union bureaucracy in initiating the CJEJ and doing their part to win the Black workers (who rep-

resent the most militant and combative sector of the class at this time) were such notables as that big-time hustler Jesse Jackson and the CJEJ's co-ordinator, Rev. Willie Barrows of the SCLC. Jackson who heads a group called Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) is a big-time pimp who prostitutes not simply a few women but the Black masses to the capitalist class through such extravaganzas as Black Expo. There Black capitalists come to peddle their wares to the Black masses while the big capitalist corporations come to buy Black talent for use in intensifying the exploitation of their workers (Black and white) and pushing their shoddy merchandise which they produce preprogrammed with planned obsolescence. When it comes to the big hustle Jackson makes Bobby Riggs look like an upstart. When Jackson leads chants of "Nation time" and "I am Somebody" he's talking about a Black nation for him and other Black capitalists to control. It is Jackson who will be "somebody" not the masses of Black workers and he knows it.

Barrows must represent the ultimate in decadent bourgeois egotism. By the time she spoke the crowd had dwindled quite a bit and the applause she received upon being introduced was not what she wanted. She then had the gall to demand a larger round of applause

because "I deserve more than that with all the work I've done building this demonstration." The only thing Rev. Barrows deserves is a good kick by the working class. She deserves anything but workers' applause for her despicable role in organizing this popular front.

The reactionary character of Black nationalism was demonstrated during the rally not only by the disgusting Jackson, but also by the emcee who referred to capitalist politician Ralph Metcalfe as "Congress-brother Metcalfe." Metcalfe is not the "brother" of any worker. He is the agent of the class enemy. It is precisely this erasing of class distinctions, thereby subordinating the working class to the control of the bourgeoisie that results from the reactionary class collaborationist character of any nationalism.

However, the workers, students, welfare mothers, etc. who were present at the march and rally were not met only with the slogans of the popular front and the various and sundry reformist and centrist groups. The Revolutionary Workers Group provided a clearcut political programmatic alternative to the line peddled by the organizers of the demonstration. Marching in a joint contingent with a representative of the Revolutionary Socialist Group, the RWG carried placards reading: "Capitalism is Inflationary. Fight for Socialism!" and

"Fight Inflation With Workers' Revolution!"

After the demonstration the sectarians of the RSG came to the conclusion that they had made a grave error. They have stated that to participate in a demonstration called by a popular front is to participate in a "bourgeois" movement. What this demonstrates, besides the utterly bankrupt analysis and methodology of the RSG is their completely sectarian refusal to participate in the day-to-day struggles of the working class. For these Comrades it is enough to simply stand on the corner repeating like a litany: Socialism is the answer. Socialism is the answer....Unfortunately in constantly intoning their simplified version of what they call a Marxist answer, they forget the question.

Let us look briefly at their method. For the RSG there exists an anti-inflation "movement" which they claim is bourgeois. But this so-called "movement" which they attempt to give a class character to as if it were an ideology, program or organization is nothing more than the heterogeneous opposition to inflation within American society. The CJEJ popular front is bourgeois. However, this does not mean that every worker who shows up for a demonstration called by the CJEJ is participating in a bourgeois organization.

It is perfectly principled for revolutionaries to participate in

demonstrations *called by* popular fronts, not demonstrations or meetings of popular fronts, *so long as they maintain a clearcut revolutionary programmatic differentiation between themselves and the popular front.* Had we been prohibited from carrying our own slogans we would not have participated in the march. We participate in order to reach the workers present with our slogans not to add bodies to the demonstration.

The idea that participating in the demonstration means participating in the popular front is shown even more clearly to be absurd if we change the situation. Would the RSG think that everyone who participated in a demonstration called by the RSG would be participating in the RSG?

We view participation in a particular demonstration (which is not a demonstration of a popular front or other bourgeois grouping) as a tactic. If we were strong enough to call a counter-demonstration to the one called by the popular front and could mobilize masses of workers we would of course do so. However, we are not that strong now and thus in order to provide the working class with a revolutionary alternative to the reformist pablum of the liberals and their working class supporters we participate in such demonstrations as the

one held Sept. 8. We seek to lead the working class even in its day-to-day struggles. We refuse to stand idly by to allow the bourgeois liberals, petty bourgeois radicals, reformists and centrists a clear field. The working class needs a revolutionary leadership even in the struggle against inflation, even in contract fights and it is up to us to provide that leadership to the best of our ability with the resources at our disposal.

As we stated in our September editorial *Fight Inflation With Workers' Revolution*:

...We state clearly and unequivocally that the only way to end inflation and all the other evils of capitalism (war, poverty, unemployment, wage-labor, etc.) is to end capitalism.

However, just as Nixon and the capitalist class can not wave a magic wand and "end inflation now." Capitalism can only be destroyed through the conscious struggle of the working class on an international scale. A necessary factor in the success of that struggle is the construction of a revolutionary party of the conscious vanguard of the working class internationally. The struggle to build the revolutionary combat party of the working class will go hand in hand with the development of the class consciousness of the

working class to the revolutionary level necessary to throw out the capitalists and their hangers-on and replace a society beset by war, inflation, unemployment and poverty with one based on the democratic rule of the working class, a worldwide workers' republic.

FIGHT INFLATION WITH WORKERS' REVOLUTION!
SMASH THE POPULAR FRONT!
BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)!
FORWARD TO THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
FORWARD TO THE WORLDWIDE WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

* * * * *

A burning issue of the day?

the following is taken from the Sept. 1973 issue of Class Struggle, publication of the Class Struggle League:

Aaron also is the all time leader in hits by a right handed batter, having passed Honus Wagner, the Pittsburgh shortstop great, with 3,462 as opposed to Wagner's 3,431 on August 9.

* * * * *

With next month's issue we will begin the serialization of a pamphlet outlining the tasks and perspectives for revolutionary Marxists on the South American continent. This pamphlet will be especially important in light of recent events.

The Coup in Chile

by Ron Albertson

On Sept. 11, 1973 the popular front government in Chile was overthrown by the military. The Unidad Popular (UP, Popular Unity) consisted of a coalition of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and a few radical and bourgeois organizations. The UP was supposed to reform capitalism into a peaceful transition to socialism. Once again this theory of peaceful transition has been proven wrong with the blood of the working class.

In the epoch of imperialism, due to the high concentration of capital in a few hands, some economic crises can be created synthetically. The crisis in Chile's economy which mobilized the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat was a crisis created by the bourgeoisie for just that purpose. In 1972 alone the cost of living had jumped 114.3%. The workers who had won many wage increases soon found they were right back in the same place



Soldiers searching buildings and civilians in Santiago

again. Since the Allende government had placed price controls over most of the commodities, a large black market was created. Large scale hoarding of products by petty bourgeoisie was also reported also adding to the creation of shortages. Factories in most cases underwent major production cuts. Items which had low prices were usually withdrawn from production completely because of the low profit margins. Not only was production cut in the factories, repair and maintenance of these plants were also stopped. Machines were allowed to fall apart and many times sabotaged intentionally by the owners. Other factory owners disassembled their plants and had the equipment shipped out of the country.

In the countryside production of food was also drastically cut. Equipment, herds of cattle and other livestock and other agricultural supplies had been either hidden by the large farmers or transferred to other countries. Peasants who were given land during the administration of land reform were unable to utilize their gains.

Along with the exodus of factories and farm equipment was that of money capital. Many bank accounts were transferred out of the country. Some \$270 million had left by March 1973. All investment in the country was stopped and an economic boycott of Chile was instituted. The U.S. whose bourgeoisie had played a major role in the economic boycott suddenly refused to give any

financial assistance to Chile.

The result of this sabotage of the economy was rapid inflation and large scale shortages. Workers in many cases had to stand in long lines just to get a tube of toothpaste or a loaf of bread. In order to combat the black market "JAP's" (food, supply and price control associations) were created consisting of union delegates, neighborhood councils and consumer organizations. These groups along with other similar organizations felt their largest increase of strength during the "bourgeois . . . strike" in October 1972.

When the nationalizations of industry were first instituted they were supported by a majority of the Chilean bourgeoisie. As the working class started to become more politically educated about Allende, who along with his program, had been the main attraction of the workers to politics (even though revisionist), the nationalizations received more and more objection from the bourgeoisie. In October of 1972 a "strike" was called by the bourgeoisie to protest Allende's economic program. The strike began with the truck owners and soon spread to almost all of the white collar workers. Even the bourgeois press admitted that the strike and mounting opposition was "middle class" in content. In fact, the whole petty

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bourgeois sections and neighborhoods had been whipped up into an hysteria of anti-communism and anti-workerism. Although fascist groups and other far right wing parties such as the Nationalist Party had been responsible for the armed mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie, it was the Christian Democrats who declared full support of the "bourgeois strike" and blamed Allende for the economic crisis.

By the time of the March elections in 1973, where seats in both legislative houses were under contention, a large polarization of the population of Chile had taken place along class lines. The polarization later on proved disastrous for the proletariat who were left unarmed and without the leadership of a revolutionary party. Already the UP was beginning to reveal divisions within its ranks. A controversy arose over the "social sector" bill introduced by Economic Minister Orlando Millas, a member of the CP. This bill would define which sectors of the economy would be nationalized and which would not. Under the plan there were to be three sectors, social sector, mixed and private. Included in the private sector were factories and farms which had been seized by workers and peasants. The leadership of the Socialist Party was angered when the bill was introduced without its prior approval. The SP soon came out with statements denouncing the bill and

labelled it reactionary.

Allende, although himself a member of the SP, came to the aid of his Minister and declared his support for the bill. Allende then went on and elaborated on the content of the bill which would set the number of factories to be owned collectively by the bourgeoisie at 90. Allende also stated that a commission would then be set up to deal with the remaining "mixed" and private sectors.

In the March elections the UP gained an additional six seats in the Chamber of Deputies and another three in the Senate. The opposition to Allende was now organized in a bloc between the Christian Democrats and the Nationalist Party. Supporters of both groups (pro and anti-Allende) celebrated their "victory" after the elections with mass demonstrations. The UP claimed victory by stopping the opposition from gaining a 2/3 majority in the legislature, which would have allowed the opposition to veto all bills introduced by the UP. The UP also claimed victory because it had gained in its percentage in both houses. The opposition claimed a victory because it had retained a majority in both branches of the legislature.

Whichever coalition deserved the label victorious is undecided. What was definitely shown later was that the workers had suffered a loss. The Allende government being the epitome of

popular frontism began turning further and further to the right. After the October crisis Allende had brought into his cabinet several military chiefs. By April the "Council of Generals" warned Allende that they would leave the government if he did not accept their four demands. These demands included the maintenance of the right to spy on "armed groups," the end of Allende's use of legal loopholes and Presidential privilege to introduce social reforms, and also an end to the political agitation and approach used in the distribution of food. Allende conceded not to abuse his power of Presidential privilege and to take a less political approach to food distribution. On the point of spying on "armed groups" Allende surpassed the military in zeal.

During the first part of April Allende began a full campaign to eradicate the "tomas," which were the seizures of factories and land by the workers and peasants. Allende devoted entire speeches just to this subject and displayed his eagerness to destroy any attempt by the working class to create a dual power situation. Allende, who by now had defined many factories and farms which workers and peasants had seized as being in the private sector, made it clear that he wanted these returned to the bourgeoisie.

Although Allende was turning to the right quickly, he did not move quick enough for the bourgeoisie. Although Allende had compromised on the public demands of the "Council of Generals," it was reported that he could never concede to their secret demands. So, in early April the military cabinet members resigned from the government and a civilian cabinet was appointed. In June a coup d'etat was attempted by the far right but was smashed by Allende with the aid of the military.

Soon after the announcement that the coup had been suppressed, demonstrations of workers outside the Presidential Palace were heard chanting "the united left can not be defeated." This was in actuality a false presumption since it was not the left nor Allende who had suppressed the coup but rather the military.

The working class, in spite of its leaders' treacherous policies was mobilizing itself and acting independently. During June a strike had been initiated against one of the major copper mines which had been nationalized. Allende had attacked the striking miners as "fascists." The far right had tried to take advantage of the strike but the copper miners understood that they didn't need that type of alliance. In the heavy industrial districts of the cities, "cordones" which were councils of the different workers'

organizations had been set up to defend occupied factories. Whole districts were controlled by these cordones which represented the most promising mobilization of the proletariat.

Although the proletariat was left without a revolutionary leadership the action of the workers constantly grew more militant (within the limits set by spontaneity). Three days before the junta overthrew the popular front the cordones displayed their militancy. When the army tried to enter a factory controlled by the cordon, they were met with shooting from inside and soon found themselves surrounded by angry militant workers. The army which had in recent weeks come into more and more armed battles with the workers had to retreat.

On Sept. 11 the military carried out a coup d'etat and overthrew Allende. Scattered fighting was reported between workers and the army. In the industrial districts whole factories with workers trapped inside were bombed. Militant activists who had come to Chile for political asylum were quickly rounded up as the military dictatorship declared it was these "outside agitators" who had created the crisis in Chile. Mass executions have taken place. All left parties have been declared illegal and their leaders declared criminals. The junta has announced the death penalty for all members of

the deposed government.

Among the junta's first decrees was the abolition of Chile's largest and main trade union federation, the Central Workers Confederation. The military dictatorship stated that the union had "transformed itself into an organ of political character, under the influence of foreign tendencies alien to the national spirit." All political posts including mayors and city councilmen have been replaced with appointments by the junta.

The other parties of the bourgeoisie, namely the Christian Democrats, were reported to have reacted to the junta by stating Sept. 12 that they "did not seek this power, and their traditions inspire confidence in us that as soon as they finish the tasks they have assumed in order to avert grave dangers, they will return the power to the sovereign people."

Evidence indicates that the U.S. had helped or at least collaborated with the junta in its coup. The scandal involving ITT and the CIA has already aroused suspicion that the supposedly "hands off" policy was fake. The U.S. Government has admitted knowing of the planned coup in advance but decided not to inform Allende. Reports of U.S. Navy ships en route to participate in joint maneuvers with the Chilean Navy suddenly changed course just

before the coup had started. The support of coups by military dictatorships by imperialist countries has a long history in South America. Before the Second Imperialist World War, England, Germany and the United States repeatedly would sponsor dictatorships which would give them favorable trade agreements and allow them to make an economic colony out of the country. This fierce battle for control of South America between the United States and Germany (England had almost completely withdrawn) played a large role in pitting the two countries against each other in the war.

Various positions on the Chilean events by left groups in the U.S. and other parts of the world have been those expected. The Socialist Workers Party's fraternal organization in France, the now banned Ligue Communiste, stated while analyzing the deficiencies of the Chilean workers parties:

What reformists do not understand is that there exists two contradictory and irreconcilable logics, the profit logic of capitalism and the logic of socialist planning. Any attempt to 'mix', reconcile, or make these two logics coexist with each other is impossible, inevitably doomed to failure.

This statement by the Ligue must be a self-reflection, since they are describing themselves. It is the Stalinists and

their left splitoffs the Trotskyists and pseudo-Trotskyist Pabloists (like the Ligue) who believe that capitalist and socialist enterprises coexisted in Russia at the same time during the New Economic Policy (1921-1928). It is only the Revolutionary Workers Group that understands that the two do not mix.

Other contradictory positions by the various workers organizations have also appeared. The Spartacist League (SL) before the final overthrow of Allende had stated their position of defense as:

In the face of an attempted putsch, revolutionists must give military support to the popular front government without for one second ceasing to oppose it politically. The distinction between "military" and "political" support is obviously a false argument. Military struggle is a higher plane of political struggle. If a struggle commenced between the popular front and a military putsch, the Spartacist League would have, if victorious, merely re-instituted the popular front. The SL in order to fight reactionary putsches instead of calling for revolutionary mobilization of the working class which of course the call for the overthrow of capitalism (including the POP-front governments) and the creation of a workers' state. The SL instead chooses to pose

the democratic bourgeoisie as an alternative rather than the workers themselves. Again the SL states:

Only in this way can we guarantee that the potential for revolutionary mobilization and the gains already wrung from the bourgeoisie are not dependent on the good will of the "democratic" generals.

Even worse about this centrist position is that it is presented as being the same politics as those of the Bolsheviks when they were faced with the attack by Kornilov. Lenin wrote:

Either a Soviet government or Kornilovism. There is *no middle course*.

In a further distortion of Bolsheviks the SL stated

In a similar situation when faced with the attempt in August 1917 by General Kornilov to overthrow the Kerensky government and crush the revolutionary workers of Petrograd the Bolsheviks called for a united front of all workers organizations to smash the counter-revolutionary conspirators and even fought alongside the troops of the bourgeois Kerensky government.

Trotsky who wrote the *History of the Russian Revolution* in 1929 was well aware of the events of August 1917, but not once does he mention the Bolsheviks ever entering

into or calling for a bloc with the bourgeois Provisional Government. In describing Bolshevik policy Trotsky states:

the Bolsheviks announced their readiness to co-ordinate their military work with the organs of the Executive Committee.

That is, the organs of the E.C. of the Soviets. Clearly they blocked with the Soviets not with the Provisional Government. The Soviets were organs of working class power which were used to overthrow the bourgeoisie and create a workers' state.

As for the assertion that the Bolsheviks "fought alongside the troops of the bourgeois Kerensky government," it is equally false. The troops which were used to fight Kornilov were under the discipline of the Executive Committee of the Soviets. Although Kerensky called the troops to fight he did so not in his capacity as head of the Provisional Government, but as head of the Executive Committee. The revolutionary soldiers would not move until it was clear that the Soviets had ordered it.

Again Trotsky states:

The Bolsheviks who had been forbidden entry into the barracks since the July Days, were now freely admitted, *without them it was impossible to win over the soldiers*. (my emphasis--RA)

Thus in reality if the Bolsheviks had fought against Kornilov and simultaneously against the

Petrograd garrisons, they would have been fighting their own comrades.

The Revolutionary Workers Group realizes that the organizations of the proletariat must be defended against the bourgeoisie. We stand on the program of the Bolshevik Party which created a workers' state. We therefore understand that the defense of the proletariat must be done in the context of a revolutionary program. We are not sectarians. We will co-ordinate military struggles in defense of the working class with any *working class* organization. We will not, however, make blocs with the bourgeoisie. That is unprincipled. To the fake Leninists of the Spartacist League who choose to call us principle mongers who have no need to worry about tactics, we say, on the contrary, Comrades, it is we who worry about tactics, not you. We worry as Lenin worried, in order to maintain proletarian independence. As Lenin wrote at the time of the Kornilov rising:

Like every sharp turn, it calls for a revision and change of tactics. And as with every revision, we must be extra-cautious not to become unprincipled.

Those who become unprincipled are those who, as Lenin said, "allow themselves to be *carried away* by the course of events." Such a group is the Spartacist League for whom tactics fall not in the realm of principled

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Argentina

Peron Elected



JUAN PERON

Juan Peron is once again President of Argentina. Peron returns to the office which he was forced to vacate by a military coup in 1955, on the wings of a resounding electoral victory. Beside the support of most of the Argentine capitalist class, Peron also received the support of the major working class party in Argentina, the Communist Party. Peron, who ran with his third wife Isabel in the number two spot for vice-president on his ticket, received 7,360,607 votes, 61.8 per cent of the total

cast and more than twice the total of his closest opponent Ricardo Balbin of the Radical Party.

Peron got his chance to run for President after Hector Campora, who had been elected on Peron's Justicialist ticket in March (when Peron was not allowed to run by edict of Alejandro Lanusse's military regime) resigned in July and set elections for September to allow his mentor to take office in his own right. The reasoning behind this was that in order to maintain a somewhat stable capital-

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Rucci Assassinated



Jose Rucci

Two days after Juan Peron's landslide victory in Argentina's Presidential elections, one of his chief henchmen, Jose Rucci, general secretary of the Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT, General Confederation of Labor, Argentine equivalent of the AFL-CIO), was assassinated. It has

been reported that the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP, People's Revolutionary Army) has claimed responsibility for the assassination. The ERP is the military arm of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT, Revolutionary Workers Party, Argentine section of the United Secretariat). The ERP/PRT has caused much embarrassment for the leaders of the United Secretariat.

The current faction fight in the United Secretariat has tended to revolve around Argentina. The United Secretariat majority led by Ernest Mandel and Livio Maitan, have generally backed the ERP/PRT to the hilt until recently when they began backing off somewhat due to the fact that leading ERP/PRT spokesmen have

stated that they do not support the USec. On the other hand, the USec minority grouped around the American Socialist Workers Party (which is not an official member of the USec due to the reactionary Voorhis Law, but is allowed to participate in USec discussions) supports the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST, Socialist Workers Party) led by Juan Carlos Coral. The PST is a typical social-democratic tendency putting all its energies into reformist electoral activity.

While the militant guerrillaism of the ERP/PRT may appear more "left" than the reform rhetoric of the PST, the two are not qualitatively different. The ERP/PRT is basically a Castroite organization which is attempting through Argen-

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Trade Unions Today

The Chrysler Strike? What Strike?

by David Ross

Trade Unions Today is a regular feature of Workers' Truth. Future issues will contain articles dealing with the problems facing various individual trade unions as well as issues relating to all trade unions. This month's article deals with the shortlived UAW strike against Chrysler Corp. and the sellout contract which the UAW bureaucracy managed to ram down the throats of the UAW ranks. This contract which is to set the pattern for the Ford and General Motors contracts must be repudiated all UAW members and a new contract negotiated.

The Oct. 1 issue of the capitalist newsweekly *U.S. News and World Report* opens its report on the recent United Auto Workers (UAW)-Chrysler contract by describing the contract as:

A new type of labor contract...in which wage increases take a back seat to gains in employee benefits and working conditions. Well, they're right in one respect. Wage increases certainly *did* take a back seat in the contract negotiations between Woodcock, Fraser and the rest of the sellout UAW leadership and the Chrysler management. However, wages *didn't* take a back seat to gains in employee benefits and working conditions. On the contrary, they took a back seat to Chrysler's never-ending drive to increase profits *at the expense* of the workers' deter-

iorating living standard and working conditions. Whatever "gains" were made were minimal and in the long run good only on paper.

The *U.S. News and World Report* article continues:

Businessmen and labor leaders (read piecards --DR) see this pact as the forerunner of similar contracts in many other industries.

This bodes ill for American workers and hence for workers internationally. However, the only way to stop the UAW sellout from becoming the norm for all industry, is for workers to organize themselves to drive the bureaucrats (both the hardcore reactionaries like Meany and Gleason of the ILA and the "lefties", the "progressives," the slick-tongued liberals like Woodcock, Miller of the NMU and Bridges of the ILWU) and replace them with a revolutionary leadership drawn from the

ranks of the working class itself which will lead an intransigent class struggle against the capitalist exploiters and the employers' government in Washington (and its state and local subsidiaries). Such a leadership can not restrict itself to contract questions and other such bread-and-butter issues. While these issues are important, they must be viewed in the context of an *international* revolutionary program, a program that will overthrow capitalism and replace its rotting carcass with a society based on the control of the working class over *all* of the means of production. A society based on social need not profit.

Where does the UAW contract fit into all of this? It marks another step along the road being paved by both the employers and their labor lieutenants, the trade union

bureaucracy, to take the unions *completely* away from the workers and totally subordinate them to the capitalist class and its state. The way this is to be done is by fully integrating the trade union apparatus on all levels into the capitalist state machinery and the realm of management (for the capitalists and along with the capitalists) of capitalist enterprises. It is another step in the attempt to transform the trade unions from being mass organs of economic defense for the workers to becoming instruments used by the capitalists to intensify and maintain their exploitation of the workers. This is the role of the trade unions in Spain, Russia, Cuba, China, Eastern Europe, Peru, Israel, Egypt and several other countries. West Germany is rapidly moving in this direction, as are the Scandinavian countries. Workers fought hard to gain even the minimal defensive weapons which the trade unions represent. We can not allow them to be taken away and transformed into organs of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

But what about the UAW-Chrysler contract? What about the so-called "gains?" Are there really any gains for auto workers, and if so, how do they stack up in the long run against what was given away? *U.S. News and World Report* outlines seven major highlights: Pay raises, Cost of living, Overtime,

Dental care, Retirement and pensions, Holidays, Other "fringes." Let's look at these "gains" one at a time.

Pay raises: "Annual cash increases of 3 per cent, plus an extra 12 cents per hour in first year of contract, bringing average hourly pay from \$5.12 to \$5.39 right away." Some increase! Not only was the wage settlement "well within Nixon's guidelines," it was almost half what even the capitalist government would allow (the infamous 5.5%)! What this pay "increase" means is that if an auto worker somehow managed to only work a forty-hour week, he would receive a weekly increase of only \$10.80 *before* taxes. After taxes, etc. he would be lucky to take home eight bucks. At the rate prices are going up (especially food which is usually bought every week) he and his family will be behind before they start. It's like the average American racing John Carlos in the hundred yard dash and spotting Carlos fifty yards! The paltry increase (which is really no increase in real wages, i.e. buying power) is not simply insulting, it is extremely injurious. Even with the fourteen hours of forced overtime which auto workers will face, it will rapidly become impossible for them to make ends meet. It's no wonder that horsemeat is selling well in Michigan!

Cost of living: "Some improvement for workers in formula for computing cost-of-living pay in-

creases. But Chrysler gains the right to divert 10 cents of a worker's future cost-of-living allowance to help pay for fringe benefits." Some improvement! The only cost-of-living escalator that can allow workers to come anywhere near keeping up with inflation is an unlimited escalator. As it stands now the COL is virtually worthless (although it is better than nothing, but not much better). And to top it off, Chrysler is allowed to divert 10 cents of any future cost-of-living allowance to pay for so-called "fringe" benefits. Just as "free" public education is paid for through the taxes of the working class and the lower middle class, likewise auto workers will be forced to pay for the "fringe benefits" (like "free" insurance plans) which Chrysler is supposedly supplying them with its "heart of gold." Auto workers must fight for an unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause with no loopholes to enable the auto companies to steal any part of COL allowances to pay for so-called "fringe benefits."

Overtime: "Limits on mandatory work beyond a normal eight-hour work-day. A worker may refuse to work more than nine hours a day, decline any Sunday work, skip overtime one Saturday in three--except in certain 'critical' situations." What we have here in plain language is a 54-hour work week (except every third week when it's

only 45 hours, if the worker applies two weeks in advance, and if his attendance is perfect the week preceding the Saturday he wishes to take off, and if the situation is not "critical" in Chrysler's eyes). For many auto workers the 40-hour week is not simply a thing of their past, it's "before my time." Not many of us remember the struggle waged for the 8-hour day (and rightly so since it began almost a century ago). However, it is clear that the bosses have no desire to maintain it, and, more importantly, that the present union misleadership has no desire to fight for it. The fact of the matter is that Woodcock and Co. sold out completely on the overtime question. Most auto workers were working a 54-hour week before the contract was signed. All the contract says is that Chrysler can't do any more than they've been wanting to all along! Some gain! However, as we stated in last month's issue (*Wildcats, Chrysler and the UAW, Workers Truth* Sept. 1973):

Secondly, the deal can work in reverse. The UAW leadership will accept the 3% wage increase in return for Chrysler's acceptance of "voluntary" overtime. But what would this mean in reality? It would mean exactly nothing at all. With the cost-of-living increasing as it is now, "voluntary" overtime

would be meaningless. While no worker would be "forced" to work overtime because of a rule in the contract, most (if not all) workers would be forced to work overtime in order to support themselves and their families....what is necessary is a real end to overtime. Not simply forced by rules, but forced by economic need. All workers should receive enough that will allow them to live decent lives without having to work overtime. But, that's where the contradiction lies. So long as capitalism exists, and the labor of the working class is needed to support the parasitic capitalists, rather than raise the living standards of the workers, these problems will not be solved." Like the wages sellout, the overtime sellout is both insulting and injurious. Injurious because the longer hours one is forced to work (in already hazardous conditions) the more prone one is to injury. Insulting insofar as the UAW tops have the gall to think that the average auto worker is so dense that he'll really believe the song-and-dance that Woodcock, et.al. are trying to palm off as "voluntary" overtime.

Dental care: "Company will underwrite cost of new dental-insurance plan, to take effect in the second year of the contract." On the surface this looks like a real gain. But we already know who is going to help foot

the bill with their COL allowance (and it isn't Chrysler). *U.S. News and World Report* (and the capitalist class in general along with the labor bureaucracy) makes a big deal about dental and medical insurance plans paid for by the company, and how they're so much better than wage increases. We're all in favor of company-paid medical insurance (as long as it's really paid for by the company), however, to hear the capitalist press talk about it, the workers are just raking in the money off of such plans. For instance, *U.S. News and World Report* says:

Ford, for example, says its premiums on the company-paid hospital-medical-surgical-drug program rose by 59 per cent during the life of the 1970 contract--from \$41.69 per month per employee in 1970 to \$66.09 in 1973.

This constituted a net gain for the worker of \$24.40.

Where's this increase going? To doctors, hospitals and drug firms. In fact, medical costs are increasing much faster than company-paid insurance benefits, and the extra money for payments has to come from somewhere and (you guessed it) it comes out of the workers' pockets. Far from gaining on medical insurance, workers are (even with medical insurance) paying more for the same or less medical treatment. This is not even mentioning the fact that with prices going

up and wages sitting still, pretty soon workers won't be able to afford to buy anything that will rot their teeth!

Retirement and pensions: "Workers can retire after 30 years of service, regardless of age, at \$550 a month, starting in March, 1974. Pensions rise to a maximum of \$700 a month in 1978. Payments boosted for Chrysler workers already retired." "30 and Out" is fine if you can afford it. But by the time this retirement plan is phased in, very few auto workers will be able to afford the drastic pay cut that this retirement would bring. What good is retiring if you have to run around trying to find some stultifying part-time job in order to make ends meet? Any "30 and Out" scheme *must* make it clear that retirement benefits *equal* what the worker would make if he were still working. Otherwise "30 and Out" becomes just another management-bureaucracy song-and-dance to show the workers how lucky they are to have such nice contract clauses which are absolutely meaningless and can not be used if the worker wants to live a half-way decent life. The "30 and Out" formula in the present is the same as a "voluntary" overtime clause without sufficient pay increase to make it possible for a worker not to work overtime and still provide for his family (an

impossibility under capitalism).

Holidays: "Workers are guaranteed continuation of paid time for the days between Christmas and New Year's when plants are shut down, plus a new paid holiday for the Friday after Thanksgiving. Total holidays in 1974: 15. 15 paid holidays, big deal! After working 54-hour weeks this is chicken-feed to say the least. But the capitalists and labor fakers figure: "Give 'em 15 days off with pay and that should satisfy 'em. And if it doesn't, give 'em the sack."

Other "fringes": "Company agrees to give the union an equal voice in experiments to improve the work environment and to pay any tax that might be levied on workers under a proposed national health-insurance program. The union gains greater access to the plants for health-safety inspections." Where "union" is mentioned read "bureaucrats." Nowhere do the workers themselves have the right to any say about anything. What we will have here is increased Woodcock, Fraser, etc. participation in setting up and maintaining the conditions of exploitation for the workers in "their" union. What is needed is *not* bureaucrat participation in management exploitation schemes. Nor for that matter is *worker* participation in management exploitation schemes. What is necessary is workers' expropriation of the capitalists' factories and the organization of all pro-

duction on a planned basis controlled and managed by the working class as a whole in their own interests.

Another important point in the Chrysler contract not included by *U.S. News and World Report* as one of the "highlights" is a direct attack on "new hires," most of whom are obviously young. With the new contract "new hires" will be paid 45¢ an hour less than the regular pay rate. This money will be kept by Chrysler and paid to the worker after six months (i.e. a 6 month probationary period). However, nothing is to stop Chrysler from laying the worker off before the six months or firing him for some petty infraction (real or imaginary) of "the rules." In which case the 45¢ an hour "held back" becomes pure profit for the auto manufacturers.

As we can see the contract negotiated by the UAW "leadership" is a complete unadulterated sellout. However, we've saved the most important part for last, that "monumental" union participation in management. The attempt to integrate the unions themselves into the exploitative machinery is best summed up in the UAW "harmony clause" which reads:

The UAW therefore proposes that the management and the union acknowledge in writing that their relationship is one of mutual respect and responsibility; that the growth and success of the company are of direct interest

to the workers and their union, and the growth and success of the union are of direct interest to the company: that each party, therefore, pledges respect, understanding and co-operation with the other and covenants that it will not, in any way, impede the growth and success of the other.

In plain English without the fake fairness language used to make it look like good old-fashioned give-and-take, "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," we have the following:

The UAW bureaucracy (along with the employers and management) demand that the workers and their union acknowledge in writing (and most of all in action) that their relationship is one of respect and subservience toward management: that the growth and success (profits) of the company are of no benefit to the workers (but must be striven for by them anyway), and the crushing and destruction of an independent workers' union are of direct interest to the company (and should also be striven for by the workers); that the workers, therefore, pledge respect, understanding and co-operation with management and promise that they will not in any way impede the growth, success and profitab-

ility of the company. The trade union bureaucracy has become tired of their present role. They want a more "stable" role as capitalist managers. Already they live the same lifestyle as their fellow bargainers on the management side of the negotiations table. They eat the same foods (at the same restaurants), go to the same theaters, live in the same suburbs and have similar social circles. The labor bureaucrat in most respects is far closer to the capitalist manager than he is to the worker. Now he wants to be not only like the capitalist manager, but to be a capitalist manager himself. As we said above, only a struggle by the rank-and-file of the unions, led by a combative revolutionary leadership can stop the drift towards integration of the trade unions into the capitalist state and exploitative machinery, maintain the unions as organizations for the working class and transform them into revolutionary instruments for the destruction of capitalism and the construction of a workers' republic and socialism.

The question no doubt arises in the minds of many of our readers: If the contract was so rotten, and such a sellout, why did the UAW ranks approve it? First of all, not all locals approved the contract, including some large locals. Second of all, and more importantly, most workers did not see any alternative. It was clear that the UAW

bureaucracy was not going to try to get any more for their members. This had been proven by, among other things, the goon squad tactics which Fraser used in assisting the police in crushing the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant wildcat strike, Fraser's attacking Chrysler management for *giving in to the workers* in the Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant sitdown, Woodcock's statement to the press that, "Neither side wanted a strike. We simply ran out of time," and the fact that the new contract was announced and brought out for ratification after only three days of the strike (which finally lasted only nine days, the shortest strike in UAW history). Besides the fact that the workers clearly saw no possibility for a better deal with Woodcock and Fraser calling the shots, there was no revolutionary alternative in the UAW to which the workers could rally. To be sure there is opposition in the UAW, but it is either isolated and vacillating in its program (putting forward militant policies, but failing to prepare the ranks for the real class struggle showdown, the socialist revolution), or it is completely capitulatory to the bureaucracy, as for instance the United National Caucus (UNC), supported by such reformist groups as the International Socialists (IS) and Progressive Labor Party, and also by the bourgeois Communist Party. The IS which claims

to be the left wing of the UNC, stated in an article written prior to the ratification of the contract:

Rank and file militants should organize a fighting movement to vote down any contract which fails to meet the minimal demands which Woodcock and the UAW "leaders" promised to fight for. (*Workers Power*, #82, p. 1)

This is pure sellout with a very flimsy left cover. The contract demands which the UAW negotiators took into the talks, "voluntary" overtime which would have been economically unrealizable in practice for most if not all auto workers, "substantial" wage increases which by Woodcock's own admission would have been within the 5.5% guidelines set down by the government, were not qualitatively better than what the UAW actually got. The IS does not demonstrate its viability as an alternative leadership to the UAW bureaucracy, but, on the

contrary, exposes itself as nothing more than a left cover for that bureaucracy.

Without a revolutionary leadership based on a revolutionary socialist program (which includes socialist revolution, even though many ostensibly revolutionary socialist organizations do not include it!) is necessary for the UAW if it is not to become an instrument of the capitalist class. There is no third way. Either the UAW will become a revolutionary union with a revolutionary Marxist leadership basing itself on a communist internationalist program, the program of the Revolutionary Workers Group; or it will become the direct tool of the capitalist class a device to maintain and extend the exploitation of the working class at the hands of capital.

Militant Fired

Isaac Shorter, one of the initiators of the recent Jefferson Avenue

Assembly Plant sitdown strike in Detroit has been fired by Chrysler. This clearly shows what the capitalists' promises are worth, even when you "get it in writing." One of the demands made against Chrysler was that there be no reprisals. Chrysler agreed to this in a signed statement. However, shortly after the successful sitdown (which brought about the removal of a racist supervisor) Shorter was beaten by plant security guards and fired. Larry Carter, who led the sitdown with Shorter, was docked pay.

The UAW bureaucracy has done nothing to defend Shorter and Carter or any of the fired militants in the auto industry. In fact they applaud the repression. It is not the militants who should be driven from the factories, but the bureaucrats who should be driven from the unions. WE DEMAND THE REHIRING OF ISAAC SHORTER AND ALL FIRED MILITANTS! WE DEMAND AN END TO THE REPRISALS!

Revolutionary Workers Group Program for the Trade Unions

- * INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE STATE!
- * DEMOCRATIC RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS!
- * NO SUPPORT TO CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS!
- * INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!
- * A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS--JOBS FOR ALL!
- * ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED AND THE UNEMPLOYED!
- * ARMED WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS!
- * END THE SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN!
- * END THE SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF BLACKS, LATINOS AND OTHER MINORITIES!
- * END COMPANY-CONTROLLED SENIORITY SYSTEMS--FULL RIGHTS FOR YOUNG WORKERS!
- * NATIONALIZATION OF ALL INDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION, ETC. UNDER THE COLLECTIVE CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS!
- * BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)!
- * A WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

Solidarity Needed

in CTA Strike

Oct. 8, As the 686 maintenance employees of the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), represented by ten unions of the Metal Trades Council, go into their third week of a strike for higher wages against the CTA, prospects look bleak. So far the strike has had virtually no effect on CTA operations. In order for the strike to be effective, the maintenance workers must link their fight to that of bus drivers and motormen who despite the fact that their contract has expired, are still working because their demands are in arbitration. The motormen's and bus drivers' union officials claim that it is illegal for them to strike because of a stipulation in their expired contract! This is nothing more than cowardice on the part of the Transit Union misleadership. What is necessary at this point is a full shutdown of the CTA. All maintenance employees, motormen, bus drivers and other personnel must strike in support of each other. Teamsters who deliver fuel for bus runs must show elementary working class solidarity (which they have been instructed by their "leadership" not to do so far) by refusing to cross picket lines to deliver fuel shipments. All deliveries to the CTA must be "hot cargoed."

Both maintenance workers and operators are demanding 5.5% wage increases. These increases in themselves are not enough. Currently maintenance workers are guaranteed by the CTA 15.5% over what operators make. Maintenance workers must renounce this arrangement and fight for the leveling up of the wages of the operators. While equalizing wage gains for the operators is absolutely necessary, it must not be done at the expense of the maintenance workers.

Nor should the workers who ride the CTA be forced to pay these wage in-

creases with an increase in fares. CTA workers must demand *no increase in fares*, and in fact a *decrease in fares*. The money must come from the profits that go to the CTA bondholders. Only in this way can the working class unite in solidarity with the striking CTA workers and carry the strike to victory.

However, the victory of this strike is not the ultimate answer for CTA workers or to our transit problems. Only a completely overhauled mass transit system planned in the interest of the workers who use it, will transit problems be

continued on page 36



A striking CTA maintenance employee is nudged by a bus during early-morning picketing outside the CTA bus barn at North and Cicero. (Daily News Photo/Ed DeLuga)

Revolutionary Perspectives in the Middle East

Part
Three
by David Ross



Above, Arthur J. (Lord) Balfour. At right, a squadron of the Haganah in action in 1947.



With this issue we continue the serialization of the pamphlet *Revolutionary Perspectives in the Middle East* begun in our August issue.

This pamphlet deals with the background to the current "Israeli-Arab Crisis" and puts forward a revolutionary program as its solution.

From the Balfour Declaration to the 1948 War

The Balfour Declaration announced British support for the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. It read:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. (1)

The key sections in the declaration are those which point out that the British were supporting a Jewish "home" not a Jewish "state," and that they were not calling for it to be Palestine, but be *in* Palestine. And most important of all: "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." All three of these sections of the Balfour Declaration were cast to the winds in 1948 when the Zionists succeeded in setting up their own state. The Balfour Declaration did, however, despite its "no prejudice" clause, open the door for Zionist colonization. This was necessary for the Zionists since at the time the Jews in Palestine were out-

numbered by the "existing non-Jewish communities" by about eight to one.

A couple of inconsistencies in the Balfour Declaration came to light when the Bolsheviks published the secret treaties that they had found in the Tsar's vaults. It appears that the British had already promised Arab independence throughout the Middle East, including Palestine, in a document called the McMahon Correspondence. The British offer of independence to the Arabs was to be in return for Arab support in the First World War. This was also one of the main reasons for issuing the Balfour Declaration. That being to drum up support of wealthy Jews, especially in America, for the British war effort. However, it was not only to the Jews and Arabs that parts of or all of the Middle East were offered. In 1916 the British had worked out an agreement with the French in the Sykes-Picot treaty, which entailed the division of Greater Syria (including Palestine) between France and Britain after the two allies emerged victorious from the war. As it turned out the big losers in this arrangement were the Arabs. France took control of Syria and Lebanon, and the Zionists started Jewish immigration to the "homeland."

In 1922 the League of Nations passed a resolution giving Britain a Mandate to control Palestine. This was nothing more than a recognition of the accomplished fact. A substantial part of the Mandate dealt with the construction of the Jewish National Home. Provisions were made for Zionist control of many of the affairs of the Jews in Palestine. This was of course to be worked out in conjunction with Britain. The Zionist Organization functioned through the Jewish Agency, which became the basis for the state apparatus which would emerge in 1948. Through the Jewish Agency, land was bought from various absentee landlords, in order to set up Jewish agricultural settlements.

In 1920 the Jewish Agency had formed the General Federation of Jewish Labor, the Histadrut. The Histadrut was formed as an exclusively Jewish trade union, although it did have a

small puppet Arab section affiliated with it. The Histadrut was formed at the beginning of the "Hire Jewish, Buy Jewish" campaign which was being carried out by the Jewish Agency in order to develop a closed Jewish economy in Palestine. Coupled with this was strict control of eighty per cent of Jewish education, in order to Hebraise the Jewish population. It should be made clear that the Histadrut was the trade union of the Jewish Agency, and remained tied to it even after the Jewish Agency's transformation into the state apparatus in Israel. It is a company union of the worst sort, and has consistently played the role of strike-breaker rather than strike-caller.

Even with the support of Britain, Jewish immigration to Palestine was scant up until the 1930's. From 1882 until 1931, a total of fifty years, 195,296 Jews emigrated to Palestine according to the statistics of the Jewish Agency. However, during the years from 1932-1939, 264,585 Jews emigrated to Palestine. The reason for this was the rise of Nazism in Germany. In its relationship to Zionism and the Jewish question in general, Nazism exhibits some rather incongruous qualities. As it turned out, Nazism was about the worst thing that could happen to the Jewish masses in Europe, but it was about the best thing that could happen to Zionism. It has been pointed out that the rise of Nazism gave Jewish immigration to Palestine quite a boost. The reason for this was not any particular desire on the part of European Jews to go to Palestine, but merely a desire on their part to get out of the death trap which Eastern Europe and Germany were becoming. In fact, not only were Eastern Europe and Germany becoming death traps, but just about all of continental Europe, including such Western European countries as France and Holland, was to become a death trap (almost the entire Jewish population of Holland was liquidated during World War II). The bulk of European Jewish refugees tried to go to either the Soviet Union or one of the two Western "democratic" imperialist countries which were not on the European continent and appeared to be safe.

These were of course, Great Britain and the United States. Socialists in both countries organized "Open the Gates" campaigns to allow the Jews in. This was done without the support of the Zionists since such support would have been self-defeating for their enterprises in Palestine. The "Open the Gates" campaigns failed and many Jewish refugees were forced to go to Palestine, as there was no place else for them to go. The basis for excluding the Jews from the United States was the reactionary and racist 1924 Immigration Quota Act. This act placed quotas on the various nationalities who wished to emigrate to the United States. No nationality could exceed its quota. Between July 1, 1933 and June 30, 1943 only 165,756 Jews were admitted to the United States. During the same period, one million places were still open on the quotas of other nationalities. Thus, for the hundreds of thousands of Jews denied entrance into either the United States or Great Britain, only two choices were seen: remain in Europe and suffer the consequences (eventually this meant death in Hitler's concentration camps) or fleeing to Palestine. With no place for the Jews to go, the Zionists stepped up their propaganda and finally convinced a significant number of Jews that they had to go to Palestine in order to escape Nazism.

Immigration of Jews to Palestine did not stop, however, with the defeat of Nazi Germany. Eastern European Jews were transferred from concentration camps to Displaced Persons camps. They were still unable to gain admittance into the lands of "democratic" imperialism and they were faced with growing anti-Semitism as the old prejudices were revived when the defeat of the Nazis did not make things any better for the European masses. Although immigration was extremely low during the war years due to restrictions imposed by wartime, immigration of Jews into Palestine from 1944 until September of 1948 was about 140,000, with, however, half of that coming in the first nine months of 1948. With the mass flight of Jews to Palestine, the rights of the Palestinians were

completely forgotten. Although it is true that the vast majority of the Jewish people who went to Palestine did not go there with the intent of dispossessing the Palestinian people (they thought that they were a "people without a land" going to a "land without people.") and were only trying to escape their own oppression, this didn't make things any better. The objective result of this mass immigration *tied to the closed Jewish economy and the imperialist control of the area* was the dispossession of the Palestinian people.

The role of the Trotskyist movement in Palestine at this time did not help to turn the situation around. The Palestinian section of the International Secretariat (ISec), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), led by Tony Cliff, and in fact the majority of the ISec as a whole did not have a correct and complete understanding of the phenomenon with which they were faced and how to go about advancing the struggle for socialism in Palestine. During the period immediately following the Second World War, the Shachtmanite Workers Party in the United States called for free immigration of Jews into Palestine. The Shachtmanites pointed to the inability of the Jews to emigrate to the Western European countries and the tenuous situation of Eastern European Jewry if they remained in Eastern Europe. Along with this proposal they capitulated to the left wing Zionist forces particularly Hashomer Hatzair and the left wing of Mapai. Along with this went their analysis of the "dual" nature of Zionism. They saw Zionism as playing two roles: a reactionary role vis-a-vis the Palestinians and an anti-imperialist role vis-a-vis Britain. Thus they saw the Haganah and the Palmach as objectively anti-imperialist forces who were aiding the colonial revolution by struggling against British imperialism.

Cliff and the RCP, with most of the ISec lining up behind them (there is not too much published by the ISec on the question), opposed the Workers Party call for raising the slogan of "Free Jewish Immigration into Palestine." They counterposed the slogan: "For a

Constituent Assembly." Both of these slogans are incorrect, however, they need not have been counterposed. The RCP's argument for counterposing the two is rather faulty to say the least. Cliff's reasoning is illustrated by a document written in opposition to the line taken by the Goldman-Morrow faction of the Socialist Workers Party in 1946 (this faction generally represented the line of the Workers Party inside the SWP). Cliff says:

It is clear that a Constituent Assembly would have meant the stopping of Jewish immigration into Palestine, as the Arab masses unanimously oppose this and the Zionist colonisation of the country. (2)

Thus we see that it is all quite simple, since a Constituent Assembly would oppose Jewish immigration it is senseless for Marxists to raise a slogan in favor of it! Cliff apparently forgets that for all his talk of the Arab masses, that a Constituent Assembly in Palestine would not be the assembly of the Arab masses, but of the Arab bourgeoisie. In fact, for all his chastizing of the SWP minority and the Workers Party for their inability to grasp the ABC of Permanent Revolution (and perhaps because of it) Cliff himself does not see the struggle against the Arab bourgeoisie as important and instead capitulates to a form of pan-Arab nationalism. It is easy to see how even then, Cliff was beginning to develop the theories which are today propagated by the British International Socialists of which Cliff is the theoretical leader: that the Jewish workers are colons and have no revolutionary potential.

The Marxist position on immigration in this situation would be one in which, while not encouraging immigration by raising the slogan "Free Jewish Immigration Into Palestine," we would not oppose immigration. The role of revolutionaries in the imperialist countries would have been to wage campaigns to "Open the Gates" of the imperialist countries. This was done by the Revolutionary Communist Party in England and the Socialist Workers Party in the United States (even though neither of these parties was revolu-

tionary, these actions are to their credit). The role of revolutionaries in Europe would have been to discourage immigration to Palestine, pointing out the folly of such a move and urging the Jews to join with non-Jewish workers to overthrow capitalism in Europe. The role of revolutionaries in Palestine did not call for opposition to Jewish immigration because "that's what the Arabs wanted." The role of revolutionaries in Palestine was to unite the Jewish and Arab workers in struggle against imperialism, the Arab feudal lords, and the Arab and Jewish bourgeoisie in Palestine. It was here that the RCP and the ISec as a whole failed. Cliff says in the document quoted earlier:

What interest will workers of a European standard of life find in going to a country dominated by imperialism and feudalism, where the standard of life is terribly low? If not for the closed character of the Jewish economy in Palestine, which absorbs practically every immigrant Jew, no Jew would today come to Palestine any more than he goes to India or China. *In these conditions, to be against the Zionist policy of 100 percent Jewish labour means to be against Jewish immigration into Palestine.* He who is for Jewish immigration into Palestine under imperialist rule must, by the logic of the objective conditions, be also for the Zionist policy of a closed economy, enmity towards the Arabs, etc. (3)

Such a "he who is...therefore must..." argument is worthy of Calvinism, but it is certainly a far cry from Marxism. Cliff once again displays his resemblance to current theoretical dynamos as the Workers League's Tim Wohlforth, who like Cliff screams about the dialectical method and chastises his opponents for their lack of it as he himself proceeds to abandon it.

Cliff's first error is to lump all Jewish immigrants together as having European standards of living. Why does a Jew from Yemen or North Africa have a European standard of living? Obviously he does not, and a significant portion of Jewish immigrants to Palestine

came from other Arab countries. Cliff, however, takes no account of this and lumps all Jews together. This, however, is a minor error in comparison with the error made as regards the Jewish economy. In another section of his document Cliff refers to the fact that the Arab workers are exploited by imperialism. Quite correct. He then points out that the Jews in Palestine have a closed economy. Closed to whom? The imperialists? If so, then the Jewish Agency must have been the government of some sort of workers state (probably "deformed"), in which case Cliff, the Trotskyist, should have given it unconditional defense. However, this was not the case. Jewish workers no less than Arab workers were exploited by imperialism. The capital which was necessary to keep the closed economy going did not fall like manna from heaven. Nor did it come about as a result of Jewish initiative and determination. It came about through the investments of large capitalist enterprises, largely in the United States. Many of these enterprises disguised their investments by having the investments done through Jewish members of their boards of directors, but you can be sure that the Christians profited no less than the Jews.

The analysis of the RCP led it to direct almost all of its energies toward the call for a Constituent Assembly and work with Arab trade unions. No worthwhile attempt was made to break the Jewish workers from the Histadrut and Zionism. Instead they were left to support the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization out of fear for their lives and homes.

The fact that the RCP saw that there would be no good reason for a European Jew to go to Palestine if there were no closed economy led them to the wrong conclusion. It is true that the closed economy was fed by European Jewish immigration. However, it was not this immigration which gave it life. It was the influx of American capital which was the main means of support for the Jewish Agency and its closed economy. To the RCP the solution to the problem appeared quite

simple: oppose and finally stop immigration and you destroy the closed economy. However, this is putting the cart before the horse. The "crime" is not Jewish immigration, but the closed Jewish economy. If immigration stopped, the economy would still go on, unless the Jews already in Palestine were all expelled (this is considering that American capital would still be supporting the Jewish Agency). The thing to struggle against is the closed economy. The thing to do is to break the Jewish workers from the Histadrut and set up trade unions composed of Jews and Arabs and wage a class struggle against the Jewish and Arab bourgeoisie *along* with the struggle against imperialism and the Arab feudalists. A struggle such as this would make the immigration of Jews into Palestine inconsequential. If the struggle were successful, then perhaps the Jews wouldn't have emigrated to Palestine. However, since to be victorious such a struggle would entail the destruction of capitalist property relations in Palestine, there would no doubt have been an even larger number of European Jews who would have emigrated there, and they no doubt would have been welcomed.

The role of a revolutionary international then should have been to build campaigns around the slogan of "Open the Gates" in the imperialist "democracies." This slogan of "Open the Gates" along with the socialist revolution in Eastern Europe should have been the focus of a program for the refugees of the shattered Yiddish nation. However, the Palestinian section should have been waging a struggle against imperialism, feudalism, the closed Jewish economy, *and* the Arab bourgeoisie. The failure of the RCP to do this and their capitulation to Arab nationalism and scrapping the Jewish working class as a revolutionary force, thus leaving the Jewish workers no choice but to support Zionism, constituted a betrayal of the revolution in Palestine.

It is necessary at this time to analyze Arab resistance to Zionism and British imperialism. The two major outbreaks of resistance occurred in

1929 and 1936, although a smaller outbreak occurred in 1921. The 1929 events were then seen by the Communist Party and today by such groups as the Socialist Workers Party to be great expressions of Arab nationalism. While it is true that nationalism was the driving force behind most of the major actions, not every Arab was struggling against imperialism. There were many anti-Jewish and semi-Fascist elements involved. In fact, the first death in the 1929 events occurred when a Jewish boy trespassed in an Arab garden in order to retrieve a football which had gone astray. Such an act can not by any stretch of the imagination be deemed an anti-imperialist act.

The most important Arab upsurge occurred with the six month general strike of 1936. Prior to this strike Arab sentiments had been directed primarily against British imperialism. While the Palestinians were opposed to the massive immigration of Jews into Palestine, they concentrated their fire on Britain, correctly seeing the Zionists as being merely tools of British imperialism. The main force behind the 1936 rebellion was the struggle for self-determination and independence which the Palestinian Arabs had thought was guaranteed them by the British through the McMahon Correspondence. The British said, "No, you must have misread the letter. We said nothing about your independence." In 1935 a sector of the Palestinian bourgeoisie joined with representatives of the colonial government in Palestine to form the United Front. They drew up three demands which became known as the November Demands. They were as follows:

1. The establishment of a democratic government in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations and Article 2 of the Palestine Mandate.

2. Prohibition of the transfer of Arab lands to Jews and an enactment of a law similar to the Five Faddan Law in Egypt.

3. (a) The immediate cessation of Jewish immigration and the formation of a competent committee to determine the absorptive capacity of the country

and lay down principles for immigration.

- (b) Legislation to require all lawful residents to obtain and carry identity cards.

- (c) Immediate and effective investigation into illegal immigration.

The United Front based its hopes on negotiations with the British to bring about the enactment of its program.

In October, 1935, an arms shipment headed for Tel Aviv, a Jewish settlement just back from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, was intercepted in its port city, Jaffa, which was predominately Arab. The next day a strike was called in Jaffa. The participants were primarily petty bourgeois. The program was one of protest against the arming of Jews which they suspected to be going on wholesale throughout Palestine. Early in 1936, members of the Holy Martyrs, an Arab nationalist group, killed some Jews. This set off a demonstration in Tel Aviv demanding that Jews have the right to arm themselves. This meant that the Jewish Agency would have the right to distribute arms, not that the masses of Jewish workers would have the right to bear arms. The British complied with the Zionist demand by calmly looking the other way as the Jewish Agency began to amass arms.

This British approval of the arming of the Jewish Agency, along with such acts as the banning of demonstrations in Arab cities touched off the Palestinian general strike in April of 1936. Generally when one thinks of a general strike, one thinks of trade unions or labor councils getting together and calling for workers to go out on strike against their employers or against the government. The Palestinian general strike, however, was different. It was called, organized and led by the Palestinian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The only significant strike called by workers was the strike of the Haifa dockworkers. The Arab capitalists decided that in order to protest immigration and the denial of their right to independence, they would shut down their businesses. Thus when the Palestinian capitalist closed down his business, the Palestinian worker

was "out on strike." On April 25, the Supreme Arab Council (later to be called the Arab Higher Committee) was formed. This committee had representatives from the various local strike committees. On it every faction of the Palestinian bourgeoisie was represented. Needless to say, there was no worker representation on this strike committee, as working class organizations made a total capitulation to the bourgeois nationalists. The council put forth three demands which were a slightly changed version of the United Front demands. In fact, representatives of the various parties in the United Front were represented on the Supreme Arab Council. The three demands were:

1. Stoppage of Jewish immigration.
2. Prohibition of land sales to Jews.
3. Formation of a national government responsible to the representative council.

The sole Arab Higher Committee sanctioned form of struggle was the work stoppage called by the strike committees. These committees like the Arab Higher Committee were for the most part composed of businessmen and local petty bourgeois elements. On May 1, the Motor Transport Strike Committee called for withholding of taxes until immigration was limited. At first glance the Motor Transport Strike Committee may appear to be a strike committee composed of workers employed as bus and taxi drivers. While the members of the committee did drive buses and taxis, they were small capitalists who owned their vehicles or made payments on them from their fares. They also hired workers to drive if they could manage to get up enough money for another vehicle. On May 12, the Arab Higher Committee added the tax demand to its program.

During this time other things were going on besides the withholding of taxes and work stoppage. Guerilla warfare had erupted in the countryside and riots were breaking out in the cities which were primarily Palestinian in composition. Some of these riots led to attacks on the Jewish quarters in these cities.

For instance, one riot in Jaffa led to the burning down of the Yemeni Jewish quarter of that city. It is ironic that the Jews who had their homes burned, were not "Europeans who came to Palestine with a higher cultural level," but Jews from the Arabian peninsula.

The strike reached its peak in May-June. On May 12 the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce voted to strike. On May 17 the bourgeois Arab National Guard issued a proclamation supporting the strike and calling for Palestinian self-determination. The strike went so far as to include the Palestinian police, who while not striking themselves set up a strike relief fund to help support the strikers. Strikes of municipal workers occurred in all of the major Arab cities in the first week of June. They had, however, not been called by trade unions, or elected strike committees of workers themselves, but at a meeting of Palestinian mayors on May 31.

By the end of May the British had begun moving to crush the strike. On May 28 the raised the immigration quota, an act which incensed the Palestinians immensely. The colonial authorities began to round up the Fascists, Communists (three-fourths of the Communists arrested were Jewish) and strike leaders and send them to concentration camps. At the peak of the arrests, 400 strike leaders were imprisoned in the three camps which the government used for strike prisoners. At about this time the Zionists began to organize around the demands for martial law and for a Jewish army. They also called for a port to be built at Tel Aviv, so that it wouldn't be crippled by the Palestinian strike in Jaffa, which had served as its port before. With the onset of the strike goods bound for Tel Aviv had to be routed to Haifa where Jewish dockworkers unloaded them. On May 28 the colonial government began building a port for Tel Aviv. It also granted the Jewish Agency the right to form an army. Thus the Haganah, which already existed, was granted recognition by the British colonial authorities. At the same time the Haganah was allowed to operate openly, the government strengthened and

enlarged the Palestinian colonial army. British troops were sent in to reinforce the colonial army and in August the Royal Air Force began to be used for dropping bombs on rural areas suspected of being guerilla strongholds, instead of dropping leaflets urging the Palestinians to cease the strike as they had been used up until then. Several areas of Jaffa were razed to break up the concentration of Palestinians in that city.

In September more troops were sent to Palestine direct from Britain, and at the end of September the authorities declared martial law to be in effect in Palestine. By the beginning of October it was obvious that the strike was a failure. Afraid that the Zionists would corner the citrus market and the market for souvenirs to British soldiers, the Palestinian bourgeoisie called off the strike, sent the workers back to work and began making profits. The real losers in the strike were the Palestinian workers some of whom had lost their homes and all of whom lived through the strike in abject poverty.

The strike's failure can be traced to the failure of leadership of the working class organizations, particularly the Communist Party. Throughout the strike the proletariat tail-ended the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The leaders of the Palestinian working class failed to lead the proletariat in the carrying out of the tasks assigned it by the epoch of imperialist decay: the unity of workers of all nations and the overthrow of all capitalists.

What was necessary for the success of the strike in 1936 was for the leadership to be taken over by the working class. This could not occur spontaneously, it had to be a conscious effort of the revolutionary vanguard. This vanguard was not present.

A revolutionary working class leadership would have made it clear that the strike was directed against British imperialism and not the Jews. Such a leadership would not have raised a slogan opposing immigration, but a slogan calling for an end to discrimination against Palestinian

workers and an end to the closed Jewish economy. Nor would such a leadership have raised a slogan for an end of sales to Jews. It would have called for the expropriation of the large landowners (who were selling land to the Jews) and turning over the estates to the collective control of the tenants. Such a leadership would have attempted to extend the strike to the Jewish workers, by raising demands not only against British imperialism and the Jewish Agency, but also against their own capitalist class. The Palestinian workers should have been leaf-letting the Jewish workers' quarters, not burning them down. The failure of any working class tendency to put forth this kind of program forced the working class Palestinians to remain tied to their own capitalist class and to keep the Jewish workers tied to Zionism and British imperialism. It was this failure which led inevitably to the failure of the 1936 general strike. 1936 in Palestine should not be seen as a great moment in the history of the class struggle, but as another example of the crisis of working class leadership.

By 1947, there were 600,000 Jews in Palestine. This amounted to about one-third of the total population. At this time British imperialism's star began to pale in the Middle East. It was around this time that the various Jewish "resistance" groups began to step up their activity against the British army units stationed in Palestine. Unlike the Shachtmanite Workers Party in the late 1940's, Marxists do not view the Haganah and the Palmach as having an anti-imperialist side to them. Far from being a popular force struggling against the imperialist oppressor, the Haganah and the Palmach, as the military arms of the Jewish Agency, were nothing more than "American capital in disguise" which was moving in to pick up the broken pieces of Britain's empire in the Middle East. It was pointed out earlier that the Jewish Agency was based on and supported primarily by American capital. Even though the Jewish Agency armed the Haganah and the Palmach with guns from Czechoslovakia,

the checks used to pay for those guns were marked "Made in the U.S.A."

On November 29, 1947 the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into three parts. The western section would go to the Jewish Agency for the setting up of a Jewish state. The easternmost sector would go to the Hashemite kingdom of Transjordan, and the middle section was to be an autonomous Palestinian state. After the 1948 war the Palestinian sector was swallowed up by both Israel and Transjordan. At this point (1947) the various "Jewish resistance" organizations extended their terrorism on a larger scale to the Arab populace in order to drive them out of the Jewish sector. It was during this period, between the UN partition resolution and the Israeli proclamation of independence, that the Irgun carried out the infamous Deir Yassin massacre in which 254 Palestinians, men, women and children, of an avowedly nonhostile village were slaughtered. Although the official Zionist leaders disavowed any connection with the Deir Yassin massacre and the Irgun, they had no qualms about making military alliances and co-ordinating terrorist activities with them, and using them as a threat to force more Palestinians to leave the Jewish sector. In fact, to this day, former members of the Irgun and the Stern Gang (another terrorist sect) receive the same government pensions as do former members of the Haganah and the Palmach. At the same time that the terrorist military activity was being carried out the Jewish Agency was carrying on a stepped up immigration campaign and settling the new immigrants on the land vacated by the fleeing Palestinians. According to the Zionists, however, the real perpetrators of the Palestinian exodus were the heads of the Arab Legion and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. They were alleged to have made broadcasts which told the Palestinians to leave their land. However, no evidence of these broadcasts has ever turned up even in BBC and CIA monitorings.

When the Arab governments entered the war against Israel they did so under the auspices of British capital.

The Arab Legion was officered by members of the British officer corps. With the behind the scenes support of the American and Soviet imperialists, Israel managed to defeat the Arab Legion easily (they outnumbered the Legion 60,000 to 40,000) and add some territory out of what had originally been designated as the Palestinian sector. At this point, the Palestinians were forced to live in either refugee camps in the neighboring Arab countries or under military occupation in Israel. The victory of Israel in 1948 marked the beginning of the disintegration of the Palestinian nation. A process which is still occurring today. As time passes the Palestinians become more and more susceptible to assimilation into the populations of the surrounding Arab nations.

Just as Marxists do not view the Haganah and the Palmach as anti-imperialist, neither do we view the Arab Legion as such. The 1948 war was a capitalist war between the Hebrew and Arab capitalists and their imperialist backers. Marxists remain neutral in such wars. However, our neutrality is not passive. Revolutionaries should have organized the Hebrew and Arab workers to struggle against both the Haganah/Palmach and the Arab Legion. In Israel the slogan "Turn the 'War of Defense' into a Civil War" should have been raised, while in the Arab countries the corresponding slogan would have been "Turn the *jihād* into a civil war!"

To be continued

NOTES

- (1) Laqueur, ed., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, p. 18
- (2) *Socialist Workers Party Internal Bulletin*, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 14
- (3) *Ibid.*, p. 9, emphasis in original

*The International Workers' Movement:
A Short History will be continued in
next month's issue with Part Three:
The Second International.*

Archives of the Revolution

Lenin on the Kornilov Revolt

Archives of the Revolution is a regular feature of Workers' Truth. Each month we reprint for the benefit of our readers part or all of a particular speech, article or document from the vast and rich heritage of the revolutionary Marxist movement. In this issue we are reprinting the letter to the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) (RSDLP-B) written by V.I. Lenin on August 30 (September 12), 1917. In this letter Lenin outlines the Bolshevik view of what course to take against the reactionary uprising led by General Kornilov in August 1917. This letter has importance today and should be read by every would-be Bolshevik. It is especially important in light of the recent military coup in Chile. As opposed to taking a Bolshevik line of complete independence of the proletariat, almost every group on the American left called for support to Allende and the bourgeois Popular Unity regime in one form or another. It should be noted that when Lenin opposes support to Kerensky in this letter, he makes no distinction between military and political support. Nor does he call for any sort of bloc, united front or military-technical co-ordination with the bourgeois troops. Trotsky corroborated this in his excellent History of the Russian Revolution (probably the best factual account of this historic event). Trotsky wrote his history in 1929-30. However, within a few years when he was offering military support to the Popular Front in Spain and wishing he could offer it to Hindenburg in Germany (if Hindenburg had only picked up the gun!), he twisted the events of August 1917 in an effort to defend his opportunism. His followers today carry on this legacy of distortion of Bolshevik history in an effort to defend their mentor and their own opportunism (as in Chile). It was not Stalin alone who had his "school of falsification." Lenin's letter stands not as a defense of Trotskyist strategy and tactics, but as a repudiation of Trotskyist opportunism.

It is possible that these lines will come too late, for events are developing with a rapidity that sometime's makes one's head spin. I am writing this on Wednesday, August 30, and the recipients will read it no earlier than Friday, September 2. Still, on chance, I consider it my duty to write the following.

The Kornilov revolt is a most unexpected (unexpected at such a moment and in such a form) and downright unbelievably sharp turn in events.

Like every sharp turn, it calls for a revision and change of tactics. And as with every revision, we must be extra-cautious not to become unprincipled.

It is my position that those who become unprincipled are people who (like Volodarsky) slide into defencism or (like other Bolsheviks) into a bloc with the S.R.s, into supporting the Provisional Government. Their attitude is absolutely wrong and unprincipled. We shall become defencists only after the transfer of power to

the proletariat, after a peace offer, after the secret treaties and ties with the banks have been broken--only afterwards. Neither the capture of Riga nor the capture of Petrograd will make us defencists. (I should very much like Volodarsky to read this.) Until then we stand for a proletarian revolution, we are against the war, and we are no defencists.

Even now we must not support Kerensky's government. This is unprincipled. We may be asked: aren't we going to fight against Kornilov? Of course we must! But this is not the same thing: there is a dividing line here, which is being stepped over by some Bolsheviks who fall into compromise and allow themselves to be carried away by the course of events.

We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops do, but we do not support Kerensky. On the contrary, we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is rather a subtle difference, but it is highly essential and must not be

forgotten.

What, then, constitutes our change of tactics after the Kornilov revolt?

We are changing the *form* of our struggle against Kerensky. Without in the least relaxing our hostility towards him, without taking back a single word said against him, without renouncing the task of overthrowing him, we say that we must *take into account* the present situation. We shall not overthrow Kerensky right now. We shall approach the task of fighting against him *in a different way*, namely, we shall point out to the people (who are fighting against Kornilov) Kerensky's *weakness and vacillation*. That has been done in the past *as well*. Now, however, it has become the *all-important* thing and this constitutes the change.

The change, further, is that the *all-important* thing now has become the intensification of our campaign for some kind of "partial demands" to be presented to Kerensky: arrest Milyukov, arm the Petrograd workers, summon the Kronstadt, Vyborg and Helsingfors troops to Petrograd, dissolve the Duma, arrest Rodzyanko, legalise the transfer of the landed estates to the peasants, introduce workers' control over grain and factories, etc., etc. We must present these demands not only to Kerensky, and *not so much* to Kerensky, as to the workers, soldiers and peasants who have been *carried away* by the course of the struggle against Kornilov. We must keep up their *enthusiasm*, encourage them to deal with the generals and officers who have declared for Kornilov, urge *them* to demand the immediate transfer of land to the peasants, suggest to *them* that it is necessary to arrest Rodzyanko and Milyukov, dissolve the Duma, close down *Rech* and other bourgeois papers, and institute investigations against them. The "Left" S.R.s must be especially urged on in this direction.

It would be wrong to think that we have moved farther away from the task of the proletariat winning power. No. We have come very close to it, *not directly*, but from the side. *at the moment* we must campaign not so much

directly against Kerensky, as *indirectly* against him, namely, by demanding a more and more active, truly revolutionary war against Kornilov. The development of this war alone can lead us to power, but we must *speak* of this as little as possible in our propaganda (remembering very well that even tomorrow events may put power into our hands, and then we shall not relinquish it). It seems to me that this should be passed on in a letter (not in the papers) to the propagandists, to groups of agitators and propagandists, and to Party members in general. We must relentlessly fight against phrases about the defence of the country, about a united front of revolutionary democrats, about supporting the Provisional Government, etc., etc., since they are just empty *phrases*. We must say: now is the time for *action*; you S.R. and Menshevik gentlemen have long since worn those phrases threadbare. Now is the time for *action*; the war against Kornilov must be conducted in a revolutionary way, by drawing the masses in, by arousing them, by inflaming them (Kerensky is *afraid* of the masses, *afraid* of the people). In the war against the Germans, *action* is required right now; *immediate and unconditional peace must be offered* on *precise* terms. If this is done, either a speedy peace *can* be attained or the war can be turned into a revolutionary war; if not, all the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries remain lackeys of imperialism.

August 30, 1917

P.S. Having read six issues of *Rabochy*, after this was written, I must say that our views fully coincide. I heartily welcome the splendid editorials, press review and articles by V. M--n and Vol--y. As to Volodarsky's speech, I have read his letter to the editors, which likewise "eliminates" my reproaches. Once more, best wishes and greetings!

Lenin

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tine nationalist guerillaism to achieve a military victory against foreign imperialism which could set the stage for the development of Argentine capitalism, no doubt in a state capitalist form labelled (as always) "socialism in one country."

The ERP/PRT was banned by Peron as soon as he was elected President. They have apparently responded with an attack on the Argentine workers' movement. Despite the fact that Rucci was a staunch supporter of the bourgeois politician Peron, he was still the head of the largest working class organization in Argentina, the CGT. The ERP/PRT, which is primarily a petty bourgeois student organization with relatively no base or orientation

to the working class, has shown itself to be completely bankrupt in a political struggle to win the Argentine workers to its program. Instead, by assassinating Rucci (if indeed it is the ERP who are responsible for Rucci's death) they have driven the Argentine working class more firmly into the arms of the Peronist bureaucracy of the CGT (As can be seen from the enthusiastic working class support for the general strike called after Rucci's death and the massive turnout for Rucci's funeral procession). For despite Rucci's sellout policies, in the absence of a truly revolutionary opposition, he and his cohorts were able to maintain the confidence of the vast bulk of the Argentine proletariat.

It is not up to the trigger fingers of a few student romantics to deal with the Ruccis of the Argentine labor movement, but the Argentine working class organized and led by a revolutionary communist leadership, a truly revolutionary workers party.

However, just as the working class must deal with its sellout "leaders," likewise the Peronist government, instrument of Argentine capitalism, has no right to try, sentence or in any way repress the ERP/PRT. Rucci's assassins must be tried by a workers tribunal (i.e. a tribunal of *real* workers, not Peronist bureaucrats, or any other bureaucrat for that matter).
END THE BAN ON THE ERP/PRT!
FOR A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN THE CGT!

Iraq Seizes U.S. Oil Holdings

On Oct. 7 Iraq nationalized American shares of the Basrah Petroleum Company. The American holdings were owned by the Near East Development Corp. which is in turn owned by Exxon (Standard Oil of New Jersey) and the Mobil Oil Corp. The Basrah Petroleum Company is not simply an American-owned company. The Near East Development Corp. owned only 23 per cent of Basrah stock. The rest of the shares are owned by the British Petroleum Exploration Company Ltd. and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (French Petroleum Company).

The nationalization move was made after a joint meeting of the "Revolutionary" Command Council and the Baath Socialist Party. The nationalization was based on the claim that Israel was bankrolled by the U.S. While this is true Iraq's move does nothing to help Israeli or Arab workers. Only the destruction of capitalism can do that.

It should be stressed that by no means was this nationalization an anti-imperialist act. Imperialism is not the policies of powers like the U.S. It is, as Lenin correctly analyzed the highest stage in the development of capitalism. There

is no such thing as an anti-imperialist act which is not an anti-capitalist act. The fact that these nationalizations were carried out by a *capitalist* state is evidence that the act was *not* anti-imperialist. Also, British and French holdings were left untouched.

A further sign of the reactionary nature of the Baath regime in Iraq is that also on Oct. 7 Iraq resumed relations with Iran. This shows Iraq's "anti-Americanism" for what it really is, a sham. The Shah of Iran is infamous as a butcher of liberals and radicals in Iran. He is also a clearly subservient ally of

...Peron

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ist regime in Argentina it would be necessary to have more than just the name Peronist in the President's chair. It was necessary to bring back Juan Peron himself.

The bourgeoisie's choice was proven to be a correct one as Peron received the overwhelming support of the Argentine working class at the polls. Peron's return from exile in Spain had been marred by clashes between "left" and "right" factions of Peronists. However, the "left" Peronists were so sure that Peron was "theirs" (instead of the other way around) that they rallied around him, assuming that he would set things straight with the right. Nothing could be further from the truth. The "left" Peronists who think that Peron will lead them along the "peaceful road to so-

cialism" are sorely mistaken for two reasons:

1) that road does not exist.; only through armed struggle (by the working masses not tiny guerilla bands like the ERP) will the working class destroy the bourgeois state and assert its own class rule; and 2) if such a road did exist, Peron would have no intention of traveling down it (with or without the rest of Argentina). His role and his aspirations are today and have always been the development of Argentine capitalism. If that means a few expropriations of "Yankee imperialism" fine. If not, that's fine too. If it means a few reforms and crumbs for the working class from the table of Argentine capital, that's fine, too. If it means the absolute crushing of working class indepen-

dence, that, too, is fine with Peron.

Despite the throngs of cheering workers chanting "Patria Peronista" (Peronist Fatherland) and "Chile, Chile, Argentina. Americans out of America Latina", they face only suppression, repression and exploitation at the hands of the Peronist regime.

It is necessary to build a revolutionary Leninist vanguard party of the working class which will lead the Argentine workers to the throwing out of not simply the Generals like Lanusse but Peron as well. Then and only then (when capitalism has been destroyed in Argentina) will the Argentine workers be able to start on the road to the construction of socialism along with the international working class.

...Chile

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struggle, but simple pragmatism. There is no middle road in Chile. The workers who have organized themselves into "cordones" must elevate the struggle to the formation of a revolutionary workers party capable of leading the Chilean working class in the fight for power and a workers' republic.

SMASH THE JUNTA!

DEFEND THE WORKERS' OR-

GANIZATIONS!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY

WORKERS PARTY IN CHILE!

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

SUBSCRIBE!

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solved. Such a system would be clean, efficient and free. However, this can not come about until the *working class* has power in society. And this will not come about through some evolutionary process or through the beneficence of the capitalist class. It will only happen through the self-activity of the working class, organized and led by its most conscious vanguard, a revolutionary workers party, in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a workers' republic and the building of socialism.

...Iraq

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(guess who?) the United States (and an ally of Israel).

Let the Arab nationalists praise Iraq's rulers all they wish. The Iraqi working class will settle accounts with the Iraqi capitalists and their British, French and Russian backers. They will settle accounts in the only way possible: socialist revolution and the destruction of capitalism in Iraq.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY IN IRAQ!

FOR A SOCIALIST IRAQ!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED

STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

Coming Soon!

FORWARD

A Journal of Marxist Theory



The development of the international capitalist crisis and the class struggle demand that we devote more and more of *Workers' Truth* to a revolutionary Marxist analysis of immediate issues and the outlining of a program for the international working class in the face of those issues. Because of this, less space can be devoted to questions of a more general historical and theoretical nature. However, such questions can not be forgotten. It is for this reason that we will shortly begin the publication of a quarterly theoretical journal *Forward*. The first issue will contain: *Art and the Working Class*; *Trotsky's Permanent Revolution: Marxism or Revisionism?*; *Theses on the role of the communist party in the proletarian revolution* adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International; *An International Exchange: Trade Unions Against the Revolution* by Grandizo Munis (Fomento Obrero Revolucionario) and *Revolutionaries and the Trade Unions* by David Ross (Revolutionary Workers Group). Subscriptions will be \$1 for one year (4 iss.).

Fight for Socialism!

The world we live in is a world where people are divided into classes according to their role in production. The two major classes in society are the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalists own the means of production (factories, machines, etc.) but produce nothing. The workers, on the other hand, receive only meager wages for the sale of their labor power to the capitalists. Almost all production in society is done by the workers. However, almost all the benefits from this production go to the capitalists. The basis for production in this society is profit. The capitalists are not interested in having the workers produce things that people can use or that people need. They are only interested in what makes them the biggest profit. Thus, while the capitalists get richer and richer, the workers are worse off than they were before.

In order to increase profits the capitalists resort to all sorts of techniques which most of us are familiar with: speed-up, wage cuts, unemployment, labor-saving machinery. While, for instance, labor-saving machinery would be progressive in a society run by the workers, it does nothing for them under capitalism. It is just another attack on the workers.

Another feature of capitalist society is war. Every day there is a war going on somewhere in the world. This is due to the necessity of the capitalists to wage war in order to get ahead of capitalists in other countries. The working class has no interests in supporting these wars. What the workers want is peace. However, there can be no peace until the capitalists have been removed from power and this society replaced with one run by the workers in the interests of the toiling masses.

To do this, it is not enough to elect people to Congress or as President. The government is nothing more than the executive committee of the ruling class. It is the owners of the big corporations who have the final say as to what goes on. It is necessary to organize our own workers' councils. These councils will be the class rule of the workers after the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. When capitalism goes Congress will go with it. All the democracy surrounding the Congress is just a sham to

keep us tied to this system. It is democracy for the rich, for the capitalists. Our democracy will be real democracy, proletarian democracy, the democracy of the many. We do not simply want a workers' government, we want a workers' republic.

In order to throw out the capitalists and build a workers' republic and socialism the working class needs a revolutionary party. Such a party must be based on *The Communist Manifesto*, the first two Congresses of the Communist (Third) International, and the revolutionary work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg. It must be a democratic-centralist party. However, it is not enough to build such a party here in the United States. Capitalism is a world system. Even so-called "Communist" Russia and China are capitalist (state capitalist). In order to wage a successful worldwide struggle against capitalism the workers must have an international party. It is toward the construction of the International Party of Revolutionary Workers (Fourth International) that the Revolutionary Workers Group and *Workers' Truth* are dedicated.

In 1917 the Russian workers seized power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin. However, the revolution was isolated and the Russian workers exhausted from the hard struggle in a backward country lost power when the Bolsheviks lost faith in the world proletariat in 1921. The four years of the revolutionary dictatorship still remain, however, as a beacon for workers throughout the world.

Under capitalism the workers are nothing more than menials. We deserve a better life. We deserve socialism. However, it will not be handed to us on a platter. We must fight for it. For if we do not fight for socialism we will be handed barbarism. Socialism or barbarism?
Fight for Socialism!

